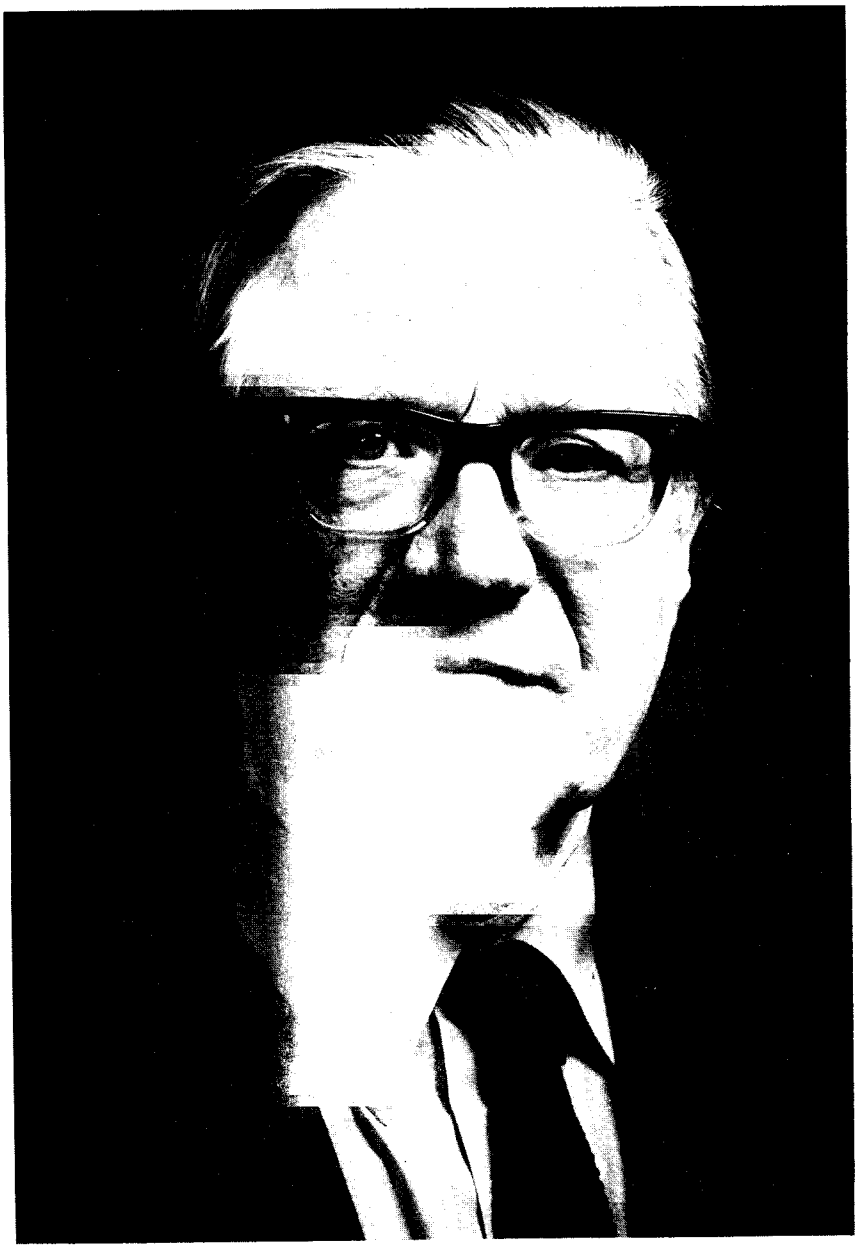


A. C. Cawley

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Edited by
PETER MEREDITH

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EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume of *Leeds Studies in English* is presented to Arthur Cawley on his retirement from the Chair of English Language and Medieval English Literature by a number of his former colleagues at the University of Leeds as a token of their esteem and affection. It is appropriate that this *festschrift* volume should be a regular number of *LSE*, since Arthur Cawley in all his time at Leeds was deeply involved with the fortunes of the journal, not only, with Harold Orton, rounding off the old *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* in splendid style, but also, with Robin Alston, launching and maintaining the new *LSE* and the new *Leeds Texts and Monographs* series.

I should like to thank all my colleagues on the editorial committee for their ready assistance in the production of this volume. Any shortcomings that remain in its presentation must be laid at my door, and I am only too aware of the vulnerability of my position in handing a volume of *LSE* to its former editor. I should also like to thank Mrs Pamela Armitage without whose skilful typing, helpfulness and patience (in equal proportions) *LSE* would never appear.

P.M.

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ARTHUR CAWLEY: A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

By STANLEY ELLIS

Arthur Cawley graduated from University College, London in 1934. He then went to the education department of Hull University and returned as Quain Student to UCL in 1935 to be a part-time university teacher for three years and work at the same time for an M.A. His teaching was hardly part-time by today's relaxed standards and it is a shining example to today's students that, despite this teaching load, he achieved a distinction for his Master's thesis on John of Trevisa's version of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*.

In 1938 he went to Harvard on a Commonwealth Fellowship and then returned to England to join the British Council. Already a traveller he went as professor of English to Iasi in Rumania, and then, when in 1940 the German invasion forced him to uproot, to Skopje in Yugoslavia. By 1941 he was in Egypt, where he worked for four years, including time spent at Benghazi. The next move, still for the British Council, was to Iceland where he taught at Reykjavík. Then he must have felt a need to settle down for he returned to England, to the University of Sheffield for a year, and in 1947 moved to a lectureship at Leeds. In 1952 he gained his Ph.D. degree which he typically asserted he only completed because he was so busy telling other people what bad work they were doing for their own doctorates that he had better have one himself. His wry humour was even capable of shocking his students when to one who had asked what he meant by Romance words he replied 'Probably not what you mean by romance, Miss ——'.

During the 1950's at Leeds he was at a most productive phase as the record of his publications shows. By 1959 the call of travel came again and he left Leeds to go to the Darnell Chair of English at Queensland, Australia which he held for six years before returning to the Chair of English Language and Medieval English Literature at Leeds where he stayed until his retirement in 1979.

This second period at Leeds was again a productive one. His standards of excellence and care - 'we medievalists pride ourselves on our attention to detail' is a statement of his to a class in 1950 that has never been forgotten - produced published works in the *Leeds Studies in English* and *Leeds Texts and Monographs*, especially in the *Medieval Drama Facsimile Series* of the latter, of a high standard of production, with contents chosen with care, and with a fastidious insistence on quality. The reputation of the School of English at Leeds, which has always been shown as the publisher of these series, stands high throughout the world in

medieval studies because of his insistence on quality. When the cost of type-setting seemed likely to put the whole *Leeds Studies* enterprise out of business he insisted that cheaper should not mean shabbier productions and we can be proud today that the production of the works is still attractive in spite of being produced at much less cost.

Since his retirement he has continued his travelling, going back to America again, this time for a spell at Muncie. His contacts in libraries and universities throughout the world have always been close, personal and happy. It needed a man of his stature and standing to persuade librarians to supply prints for the facsimiles of medieval plays - for Norman Davis' *Non Cycle-Plays* volume, for example. Few others would have received permission to reproduce these materials so readily and it was surely the knowledge that the request was made in the interests of scholarship that caused librarians and authorities to respond favourably.

As head of his Department Arthur made his requirements clearly known and left his colleagues to get on with the task of fulfilling them. He was no hard taskmaster so long as the tasks were mastered and his gentle firmness and enormous helpfulness endeared him to his colleagues.

There is no doubt that retirement is already giving him time to pursue interests that administration and teaching often forbade. We will see more medieval material from him yet, and it is good to know that his endeavours to make important manuscripts easily available to modern scholars will continue. His past colleagues, associates and other friends dedicate this volume to him as a small token of their respect and affection.

THE ACADEMIC AND THE DEVIL

By A.R. TAYLOR

Icelandic folklore, in common with that of many other countries, has long associated learning, particularly academic learning, with magic and usually with the wiles and works of the devil. The life of the academic is a perilous one; the devil will always try to claim his own.

The earliest recorded example in Iceland of this universal and deep-rooted persuasion is to be found in *Jóns saga helga*, where the saintly Bishop Jon manages to reclaim Sæmund the Wise for Iceland after he has spent many years abroad, and in so doing clearly saves him from the devil.[1] In later folktales also Sæmund, the first Icelander to seek formal education abroad, and his knowledge there obtained are represented as inseparable from the works of the devil. He escapes from his clutches by various artifices and even after his return to his native Oddi is constantly harassed by Satan and his minions, though his great learning invariably gives him the final victory. Sæmund Sigfusson (1056-1133) and Jon Ogmundsson (1052-1151), bishop of Holar, were contemporaries, and *Jóns saga* was written in the first years of the thirteenth century by Gunnlaug Leifsson, a monk of the Benedictine monastery at Thingeyrar in northern Iceland.

In one of the surviving versions of *Jóns saga helga* the story of Sæmund's escape is told as follows:

> Þá er hinn heilagi Jón biskup var í Suðrvegum, sem fyrr segir, gat hann upp spurt ok með sér haft Sæmund hinn fróða á þann hátt sem hér segir. Eigi hæfir annat en geta, framarr en áðr er sagt, hversu mikit lið íslenzkum mönnum varð at hinum heilaga Jóni, jamval utanlands sem innan. Teljum vér þann hlut einkanliga þar til, er hann spandi út higat með sér Sæmund Sigfússon, þann mann, er verit hefir einnhverr mestr guðs kristni til nytsemdar á Íslandi, ok hafði lengi verit í útlöndum, svá at ekki spurðist til hans. En hinn heilagi Jón gat hann upp spurðan, at hann var með nokkurum ágætum meistara, nemandi þar ókunniga fræði, svá at hann týndi allri þeirri, er hann hafði á ævi aldri numit, ok jamval skírnarnafni sínu. En er hinn heilagi Jón kom þar, er hann var fyrir, spurði hvárr annan at nafni. Hinn heilagi Jón sagði sitt nafn, en Sæmundr nefndist Kollr. Jón svarar af gipt heilags anda ok mikilli kennispeki: "ek getr, at þú heitir Sæmundr ok sér Sigfússon, ok fæddr

á Íslandi, á þeim bæ er Í Odda heitir". Taldi hinn heilagi Jón þar til fyrir honum, at hann kannaðist viðr sik ok ætt sína. Sæmundr mælti: "vera má at sönn sé saga þín, ok ef svá er, þá man finnast í túninu Í Odda hóll nokkurr, sá er ek lék mér jafnan við". Ok eptir þetta, þá kannast þeir við með öllu. Þá mælti hinn heilagi Jón: "fýsir þik ekki í brott héðan?" - Sæmundr svarar: "gott þikkir mér hjá meistara mínum, en þó, síðan ek heyrða þín orð, ok ek sá þik, virðist mér þó svá, sem sá hafi betr, er þér fylgir ok aldri við þik skilst, en eigi sér ek þó ráð til þess, at ek mega þér fylgja, þvíat meistari minn vil með öngu móti gefa mik liðugan". Hinn heilagi Jón mælti: "vit skulum báðir þar at sitja, ok man ek dveljast hér um hríð; skulum vit til nýta hverja stund, er vit megum við talast, eigi síðr nætr en daga. Nú ef meistari þinn ann þér mikit, þá man hann leita okkar, ef vit erum einir saman, ok man hann þá venjast við ok þikkja ekki grunsamligt, ef þat kemr opt at. En ef hann léttir af at leita okkar, þá skolum vit leita á brott sem skjótast". Sæmundr mælti: "vitrligt ráð er þetta, er þú hefir til lagt, skal þetta grundvöllr okkarrar ráðagerðar, en við vitran mann eigum vit, þar sem meistari minn er, því at hann sér ferð okkra þegar hann hyggr at himintúnglum Í heiðríku veðri, þvíat hann kann svá algerla *astronomiam*, þat er stjörnuíþrótt, at hann kennir hvers manns stjörnu, þess er hann sér, ok hyggr at um sinn". Nú eptir þessa ráðagerð fylgir Sæmundr Jóni á fund meistara síns; tók hann við honum allval, er Jón þar um hríð, þar til er þeir leita á brott á einni nátt; var veðr þykkt, ok fara þá nótt alla ok daginn eptir. En er meistarinn saknar þeirra, þá var þeirra leitað ok fundust þeir eigi. En á annarri nátt, þá sá öll himintúngl, sér meistarinn þegar hvar þeir fara, ok ferr eptir þeim skyndiliga. Sæmundr leit Í loptið upp ok mælti: "á ferð er meistari minn kominn, ok sér hvar vit förum". Jón mælti: "hvat er nú til ráða?". Sæmundr svarar: "skjótt skal til ráða taka: tak skó af fæti mér ok fyll af vatni, ok set Í höfut mér". Svá gerir hann. Nú er at segja frá spekínginum, at hann sá Í himininn upp ok mælti: "ill tíðindi! þvíat Jón hinn útlenzki hefir drekt Koll, fóstra mínum, þvíat vatn er um stjörnu hans"; ok ferr heim aptr. En þeir Jón fara leið sína þá nótt ok daginn eptir. Nú er enn at segja frá spekínginum, at á næstu nátt eptir skipar hann himintúnglum, ok sér stjörnu Sæmundar fara yfir honum lifanda, ok ferr eptir þeim Jóni. Sæmundr mælti: "enn er stjörnumeistarinn á ferð kominn, ok man enn ráða við þurfa; tak enn skó af fæti mér ok knív or skeiðum, ok högg á kálfa mér, ok fyll skóinn af blóði, ok set Í hvirfil mér". Jón gerir svá. Þá gat meistarinn enn sét stjörnu Sæmundar, ok mælti: "blóð er nú um stjörnu meistarans Kolls, ok er nú víst at þessi útlendíngr hefir fyrirfarit honum"; ok þí hverfr hann aptr leið sina. En þeir Sæmundr ok hinn heilagi Jón fara sinn veg framleiðis. Þat er enn at segja, at þá er þessi hinn

fróði meistari kom heim, reyndi hann list sína enn af nýju, ok sá enn stjörnu Sæmundar ok mælti: "á lifi er enn Kollr, lærisveinn minn, er betr er, en nógu mart hefir ek kent honum, þvíat hann sigrar mik nú í stjörnuíþrótt ok bragðvísi sinni, ok fari þeir nú heilir ok val, þvíat ekki get ek á moti staðit þeirra brottferð, ok mikils man Jóni þessum auðit verða, ok langæligar nytjar munu menn hafa hans hamingju". En þeir Jón fóru leiðar sinnar, ok fórst þeim val ok greiðliga.[2]

[When, as related above, the saintly Bishop Jon was on his pilgrimage to Rome he managed to trace and bring back with him Sæmund the Wise just as is told here. It would be but right to say a little more than has already been done about the great help given by the saintly Bishop Jon to Icelanders both abroad and at home. A particular example of this was when he persuaded Sæmund Sigfusson to return to Iceland with him - Sæmund, a man who has been one of the most useful of men in the service of God's Christianity in Iceland, but who had been abroad for a long time without anything being heard of him. But the saintly Jon was able to discover his whereabouts, that he was living with a certain excellent teacher, studying with him lore so recondite that he had forgotten all that he had learned in his youth, even his baptismal name.

Now when the saintly Jon came to where he was, they asked each other for their names. The saintly Jon told his, but Sæmund said that he was called Koll. Through the gift of the Holy Ghost and through his great powers of recognition Jon answered "My guess is that your name is Sæmund and you are the son of Sigfus and were born in Iceland on a farm which is called Oddi". The saintly Jon reasoned with him until such time as he recognised who he was and acknowledged his kin. Sæmund said "It may be that what you say is true, and if so there must in the home-field at Oddi be a mound near which I used to play". After that they fully recognised each other.

Then the saintly Jon said "Aren't you eager to get away from here?" Sæmund answered, "I like it here with my master, but yet since seeing you and hearing what you have to say it seems to me that he is better off who accompanies you and never parts from you. Yet I can see no way for me to go with you, for my master will on no account give me leave".

The saintly Jon said "We'll both think the matter over and I shall stay here for a time. We shall take every opportunity to talk together, no less at night time than in the day. Now if your master is really fond of you, he will search us out if we are on our own together, and he will get used to the idea and not think it suspicious if it happens often. Then if he should cease to look for us we shall try to make our escape as quickly as possible". Sæmund said "That is a good idea you have come up with. It

shall be the basis of our plan, but we are up against a clever man in my master, for he will be able to see us on our journey when the sky is clear and he gazes up at the stars, because he is so skilled in *astronomia* - that is star-lore - that he recognises everyone's star provided he can see it and looks at it for a time".

Now after they had made up this plan Sæmund took Jon to see his master, who made him very welcome. Jon stayed there for a time until, one night, they made their escape. The sky was overcast, and they travelled all that night and the following day. When the master missed them a search was made, but they were not found. On the next night all the stars were visible in the sky. The master immediately saw the way they were going and went after them with great speed. Sæmund looked up into the sky and said "My master has set off and he can see where we are going". Jon said "What shall we do now?" Sæmund answered "We must act quickly. Take the shoe from my foot, fill it with water and put it on my head". He did so.

Now to tell of the sage; he looked up at the sky and said "Evil are the tidings, for the foreigner Jon has drowned my fosterson Koll; there is water around his star". And he went back home again. But Jon and his companion continued their journey for that night and the following day.

Now to tell once more of the sage; on the next night he conned the stars in the sky and saw the star of Sæmund travelling above him as over a living man, and he set out after him and Jon.

Sæmund said "Once more the astrologer is on his way and once more we must take action against him. Take the shoe from off my foot again and take my knife from its sheath. Cut the calf of my leg and fill the shoe with blood and put it on the top of my head". Jon did so.

Then the sage once more looked up at Sæmund's star and said "There is blood now around the star of Master Koll, and it is now certain that this foreigner has done away with him". And so he turned back in his tracks. But Sæmund and the saintly Jon went forward on their way.

Now it is still to be reported that when this wise man reached home he once more put his arts to the test and again saw Sæmund's star and said "Koll, my pupil, is still alive, and that is good; but I have taught him more than enough for he surpasses me now in star-craft and cunning. Let them go now, safe and sound, for I can't prevent their escape. This Jon must be very gifted and his great gifts will bring lasting benefits to men".

Jon and Sæmund continued their journey and all went well for them.]

It will be noticed that the devil is not specifically mentioned and Sæmund escapes only from the toils of academic enslavement. The story here told, since it is embodied in the saga of a man which was intended to bring about his beatification, is basically a cautionary

tale shewing how the scholar, eager for every kind of learning, can be saved by the saint whose desires are bounded by the narrower confines of Christian knowledge.

It has long been recognized that this story about Sæmund has its parallel in a story told by William of Malmesbury about Pope Sylvester the Second. The connection, as far as I know, was first pointed out by Halldor Hermannsson in a postscript to his essay on Sæmund, and he there claims William's story as the actual source.[3] It is perhaps worth while to set the two accounts side by side - the relevant part of William's account runs as follows:

> Silvester, qui et Gerbertus, ex Gallia natus, monachus a puero apud Floriacum adolevit: mox cum Pytagoricum bivium attigisset, seu tædio monachatus, seu gloriæ cupiditate captus, nocte profugit Hispaniam, animo præcipue intendens ut astrologiam et ceteras id genus artes a Saracenis ediscerent. . . . Ad hos igitur, ut dixi, Gerbertus perveniens desiderio satisfecit. Ibi vicit scientia Ptholomæum in astrolabio, Alandreum in astrorum interstitio, Julium Firmicum in fato. Ibi quid cantus et volatus avium portendat, didicit; ibi excire tenues ex inferno figuras; ibi postremo quicquid vel noxium vel salubre curiositas humana deprehendit: nam de licitis artibus, arithmetica, musica, et astronomia, et geometria, nihil attinet dicere; quas ita ebibit ut inferiores ingenio suo ostenderet, et magna industria revocaret in Galliam omnino ibi jam pridem obsoletas. Abacum certe primus a Saracenis rapiens, regulas dedit quæ a sudantibus abacistis vix intelliguntur. Hospitabatur apud quendam sectæ illius philosophum, quem multis primo expensis, post etiam promissis, demerebatur. Nec deerat Saracenus quin scientiam venditaret; assidere frequenter, nunc de seriis, nunc de nugis colloqui, libros ad scribendum præbere. Unus erat codex, totius artis conscius, quem nullo modo elicere poterat. Ardebat contra Gerbertus librum quoquo modo ancillari. Semper enim in vetitum nitimur, et quicquid negatur pretiosius putatur. Ad preces ergo conversus orare per Deum, per amicitiam, multa offerre, plura polliceri. Ubi id parum procedit, nocturnas insidias temptat. Ita hominem, connivente etiam filia, cum qua assiduitas familiaritatem paraverat, vino invadens, volumen sub cervicali positum arripuit, et fugit. Ille somno excussus, indicio stellarum, qua peritus erat arte, insequitur fugitantem. Profugus quoque respiciens, eademque scientia periculum comperiens, sub ponte ligneo, qui proximus, se occulit; pendulus et pontem amplectens, ut nec aquam nec terram tangeret. Ita quærentis aviditas frustrata domum revertitur. Tum Gerbertus, viam celerans, devenit ad mare. Ibi per incantationes diabolo accersito, perpetuum paciscitur hominium si se, ab illo qui denuo insequebatur defensatum, ultra pelagus eveheret. Et factum est.[4]

> [Silvester, also called Gerbert, was born in Gaul and

grew up from boyhood as a monk at Fleury. Soon afterwards, when he was approaching years of discretion, either weary of monkhood or seized by the desire for glory he fled by night to Spain with the express purpose of learning astrology from the Saracens . . . .

Accordingly, as I have said, Gerbert coming to this people satisfied his desires. There in knowledge he outrivalled Ptolemy with the astrolabe, Alandreus in the disposition of the stars, and Julius Firmicus in judicial astrology. There he learned what is portended by the song and flight of birds, how to rouse up the insubstantial figures from hell, and finally whatever the curiosity of human beings has seized upon, whether damaging or beneficial; for it is unnecessary to mention the lawful arts - arithmetic, music, astronomy and geometry, (all of) which he absorbed so thoroughly that he shewed them to be beneath his natural abilities. Also with great industry he revived them in Gaul, where for a long time they had been completely obsolete. He was certainly the first to seize the abacus from the Saracens and formulated rules which are with difficulty understood by toiling calculators. He had taken lodging with a certain philosopher of that sect, and he gained his goodwill first by great expenditure but later on by promises. Nor was the Saracen unwilling to sell his knowledge, supplying books for copying and frequently sitting and entering into discussion of matters both serious and trivial. There was one volume containing all his art which he could never manage to lay hands on. Yet Gerbert was inflamed with desire to obtain this book by any possible means. For always we strive for the forbidden, and whatsoever is denied is thought more precious. Therefore he turned to entreaties, to beseeching for the love of God, for friendship sake, to offering much and promising more. When this was of no avail, he tried trickery by night. Thus with the connivance of the daughter, whose intimacy he had obtained by his attentions, he plied the man with wine and snatching the volume from under his pillow he fled. The Saracen, jolted out of his sleep, pursued the fugitive by the direction of the stars, in which art he was an expert. The fugitive also, looking back, realised his danger by the same arts and hid himself under a nearby wooden bridge, clinging to it and hanging in such a way that he was in contact with neither the water nor the earth. Thus the eagerness of the pursuer was frustrated and he returned home. Then Gerbert, hurrying on, came down to the sea. There summoning the devil by his incantations he promised to be his loyal servant for ever if he would save him from the man who was once more pursuing him and transport him over the sea. And so it was.]

If we now compare the two the basic similarity is obvious, but the exact nature of the connection between them is far from clear. In both stories a man seeks knowledge from abroad; in the case of

Gerbert the branches of learning are detailed, whilst of Sæmund it is simply said that he is studying 'recondite lore'. Both men eventually flee their master but their flight is made clear to him through his knowledge of the stars, yet both escape using the very arts taught to them by their pursuer. There are, however, differences between the two stories. Gerbert, with the connivance of a seduced daughter, escapes on his own after stealing a book of learning from under his master's pillow, whilst Sæmund escapes only with the help of Bishop Jon. Gerbert's theft is reminiscent of a folk-tale told in the *Snorra Edda* in which Odin steals the mead of poetry for the gods with the help of Suttung's daughter Gunnlod.[5] A further difference is that Gerbert avoids capture by the single artifice of suspending himself under a bridge, whilst Sæmund has to make greater and more frequent efforts to escape and his master eventually despairs of catching him. Gerbert in order to cross the sea has to call upon the devil and pledge his soul. Sæmund and Jon simply go their way. It would be unthinkable for the saint to invoke the devil's aid.

These similarities and differences suggest that if William's account of Gerbert's education was the source for the Sæmund episode then considerable modification took place. Halldor Hermannsson, as pointed out above, claimed that it was the source, but since he could produce no other evidence for the knowledge of William's history in Iceland in the early thirteenth century he was forced to conclude that the tale was brought to Iceland by word of mouth, and he even suggests the possibility that it was Sæmund himself who told the tale of Gerbert's escape from the Saracen. It might appear that the use of the Latin word *astronomiam* in the Icelandic of the saga points to a Latin source - and therefore William's history - but such an argument loses much of its force for two reasons. Firstly in the corresponding position in William's Latin we find not *astronomia* but *indicium stellarum* and secondly because *Jóns saga* itself was originally composed in Latin, though the Latin text has been lost and only Icelandic translations have survived. The present text therefore can only be a paraphrase not of William's but of Gunnlaug's Latin, though there is nothing to say that Gunnlaug did not substitute *astronomiam* for *indicio stellarum*.

Einar Ólafur Sveinsson also thinks it likely that the account of Sæmund's escape came to Iceland as an oral story, but he gives no reasons.[6] That the story existed in Iceland in an oral form cannot be denied, for variant versions have survived and typical alternative stratagems to effect escape have been recorded. In the version sent in 1701 to Arni Magnusson in Copenhagen, who was collecting material for a life of Sæmund the Wise, the devil was again deceived by Saint Jon.[7] He knew that the devil 'takes the hindmost' and, making Sæmund precede him, when leaving the school wore his cloak loosely about his shoulders. The cloak was the devil's only reward. In this same seventeenth-century tale Sæmund makes a sporting compact with the devil, tricks him on three successive nights and thus earns immunity. Versions from the nineteenth century repeat the stratagem of the cloak but also add another variant in which the devil is told to snatch at Sæmund's shadow which follows him out.[8] Other late versions do their best to combine all earlier stratagems.

Some of the elements in William's story are found in other Icelandic folktales, though they are not necessarily connected with Sæmund. A story reminiscent of that of the Sorcerer's Apprentice, in which the pupil is unable to reverse a spell but is rescued by the return of his master, is told of Bishop Jon Halldorsson (†1339) who shews interest in a book of wizardry,[9] and two such books, *Greyskin* and *Redskin*, are important elements in the well-known tale of *Galdra-Loftur*.[10] The transporting by the devil of Gerbert over the sea reminds one of Sæmund's other compact when the devil, in the form of a seal, returns him to Iceland in double-quick time.[11] Most of these later versions are composite in their material and undoubtedly oral in their origin and transmission. Bjarni Einarsson in his excellent commentary on the early folktales accepts the close connection between William's story of Gerbert and *Jóns saga*, but he feels doubtful about direct literary borrowing and prefers to think of the stories as two variants of the common migratory tale of master and pupil.[12] If William is the ultimate source, the fact that there is already variation from him in Gunnlaug's story suggests that oral contamination took place in the very earliest stages.

Probably the evidence for a decision on this point is not yet available, but there is no doubt that whatever story it was that brought to Iceland the thesis of the equation of academic learning and the precepts of the devil it was particularly fruitful. An extraordinary late reflection is the debasement of the great St Columba, the founder of Durrow and Iona, who in the opening chapter of Halldor Laxness' novel turns up as the Icelandic fiend Kolumkilli.[13]

In conclusion we may draw the moral *caveat academicus, caveat Artur*, for 'if a little learning is a dangerous thing' how much more so must be great learning. Let us hope, now that he has retired, that Arthur too has escaped and no longer needs beware.

NOTES

1 *Biskupa Sögur*, 2 vols., (Copenhagen, 1858-78), I, pp.215-60.

2 *Jóns saga helga*, Chs. 15 and 16 in *Biskupa Sögur* I, pp.227-29. Another translation of this passage can be found in *The Northmen Talk*, trans. Jacqueline Simpson (London, 1965), pp.70-73, which also contains other extracts from *Jón's saga*.

3 Halldór Hermannsson, "Sæmund Sigfusson and the Oddaverjar", *Islandica* xxii, (New York, 1932), pp.51-52.

4 William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, (London, 1887), pp.193-95 (Rolls Series 90). I should like to acknowledge the help in making this paraphrase given to me by my former colleague, Mr R.L. Thomson, but must myself accept full responsibility for any inaccuracies. The reader will recognise that there are difficulties, but fortunately those which do arise are not crucial for the points of comparison I wish to make. Other translations of this passage can be found in (a) William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London, 1866), pp.172-74, (Bohn's Antiquarian Library), and in (b) William of Malmesbury, "History of the Kings of England", trs. J. Sharpe, rev. Jos Stevenson, in *Church Historians of England*, (London, 1854), III i, pp.150-52.

5 *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Guðni Jónsson, (Reykjavík, 1949), pp.103-05. In translation - *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson*, selected and trs. by Jean I. Young (Cambridge, 1954), pp.101-03. Bjarni Einarsson, "Munnmælsögur 17. Aldar", *Íslenzk Rit Síðari Alda* VI (Reykjavík, 1935), p.civ.

6 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Um Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur*, (Reykjavík, 1940), p.68.

7 Bjarni Einarsson, *op.cit.*, p.39-40. Also in Jón Árnason, *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur og Ævintýri*, 2nd ed., 6 vols., ed. Árni Böðvarsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, (Reykjavík, 1954-61), I, pp.469-70. There is a translation of this version in *Legends of Icelandic Magicians*, trs. Jacqueline Simpson with an introduction by B.S. Benedikz, (The Folklore Society, 1975), pp.19-20.

8 Jón Árnason, *op.cit.*, I, pp.475-86. For translation of some of these tales see Simpson, *Legends*.

9 "Þáttr Jóns biskups Halldórssonar", *Biskupa Sögur*, I, pp.483-96. Also in *Islendzk Æventyri*, ed. Hugo Gering, 2 vols., (Halle, 1882-83), pp.84-94. This latter also contains another story about Pope Silvester which according to Gering (Vol. II, p.33) is taken from Martin von Troppau, who in turn took it from Vincent of Beauvais.

10 Jón Árnason, *op.cit.*, I, pp.572-75. Translated in Simpson, *Legends*, pp.73-79.

11 Jón Árnason, *op.cit.*, I, p.478. Translated in Simpson, *Legends*, p.24.

12 Bjarni Einarsson, *op.cit.*, p.civ. The full commentary on the Sæmund legends occupies pp.xcvi-cxix.

13 Halldór Kiljan Laxness, *Sjálfstætt Fólk*, I, (Reykjavík, 1934) and in translation Halldor Laxness, *Independent People*, trs. J.A. Thompson, (London, 1945).

RICHARD CLEASBY'S NOTES ON THE VERCELLI CODEX

By CHRISTINE E. FELL

Nineteenth-century scholars suffer as do others from the vagaries of fashion. Some reputations come under attack, perhaps deservedly, some flourish, some vanish without trace. Richard Cleasby's reputation, high in his life-time, reached a peak in 1874, the year in which the Cleasby-Vigfusson *Icelandic-English Dictionary*[1] was published. The dictionary contains some forty pages devoted to a *Life* of Richard Cleasby, written by G.W. Dasent, and an invaluable source since Dasent drew heavily on Cleasby's own diaries and correspondence. The same year saw a long article in praise of Cleasby in *The Edinburgh Review*.[2] The occasion of this article was clearly the appearance of the dictionary, but the author had independent information to add to Dasent's *Life*. Further in 1874 *A Biographical Memoir of Richard Cleasby Lexicographer* was read before the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institute by Cornelius Nicholson.[3] This offers no information on Cleasby that is not drawn from either Dasent's *Life* or the article in *The Edinburgh Review*, but it is instructive to note how far the author's enthusiasm took him by way of analogy:

> [Cleasby] lived to see an experimental proof of the first printed sheet, and then was suddenly snatched away! Our great naval hero, Nelson, after he had received his fatal wound at the battle of Trafalgar, had his dying body raised up on deck to see the Union Jack float on French masts, and hear the shouts of British tars for a glorious victory. So Richard Cleasby died with the literary trophies of his great victory surrounding his death bed.[4]

Thereafter the reputation of Cleasby has declined. In the 1874 edition of the dictionary the title-page assured us that it was "based on the MS collections of the late Richard Cleasby, enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson". The title-page of the 1957 second edition modified this statement to "initiated by Richard Cleasby, subsequently revised, enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson". If one reads the unhappy history of the dictionary, noting the fate of Cleasby's own papers, the second title-page is undoubtedly fairer to Vigfússon's responsibility for the dictionary that actually appeared in print. But the word 'initiated' hardly does justice to the amount of work that Cleasby had actually done on this project. In the first edition Dasent's *Life* is followed by "a specimen of Mr. Cleasby's MS. worked out by himself". The purpose

of this specimen is to demonstrate the contrast between Cleasby's own comprehensive and competent notes and the inadequate transcripts of those notes available for Vigfússon's use. It is an impressive demonstration. But in the second edition the *Life* of Cleasby and the specimens of his work are omitted by Craigie who was responsible for the revised version. He left a couple of paragraphs on Cleasby from Dean Liddell's original Preface, and goes on to explain: "The Introduction, the life of Richard Cleasby, and the Specimens, occupying sixty-four pages in the first edition, are omitted in this one and the space added to the more essential supplement".[5]

It is clear that Vigfússon himself had developed a dislike of, possibly a prejudice against, the name of Cleasby. A copy of the first edition of the dictionary containing annotations in Vigfússon's own hand has just been brought to our attention by Elizabeth Knowles.[6] Most of these annotations demonstrate Vigfússon's irritation at any part of the finished dictionary being attributed to Cleasby, or even at any favourable mention of him. He says of the *Life*: "This life of R. Cl. was in Oct. 73 written by Mr. Dasent, in spite of my remonstrances; I had to submit. I wish it had never been written."[7] The unkindest cut of all, however, occurs on p.xlv of the annotated edition:

> Mr. Jon Sigurdsson said to me (Copenhagen 1874 summer), he knew Mr. Cleasby well - 'Eg gat aldrei séð hann vas annað enn hreinn dilettanti' I could never see he was anything but a sheer dillettanty. He also told me how he entirely depended from his Icelandic clerks, otherwise he spoke favourably him. No swindler, honest (though dull) enough. G.V.[8]

Vigfússon's own English, never too reliable, had perhaps slipped a little in the excitement of criticising Cleasby's Icelandic. Without disregarding Jón Sigurðsson's testimony we can bear in mind that a casual comment from private conversation does not necessarily represent considered judgement, and we can set alongside it the warm admiration of such contemporaries as Jacob Grimm and John Kemble:

> Jacob Grimm told the writer, in the year 1844, that no one knew the dialects of Germany, as a whole, more profoundly than Cleasby. "Some of us," he said, "know one or two dialects better, but Richard Cleasby knows them all, as his leisure and means have allowed him to traverse the country in every direction and make them his own."[9]

In 1842 Kemble, in a letter to Grimm, writes: "There is no man whom I love and honour more than *Richard Cleasby*", and in an earlier letter that year laments that "*Cleasby* is killing himself over his dictionary: he works frightfully hard at it, reads and writes incessantly, and has seriously injured his health by overapplication".[10]

Cleasby's mastery of languages included Gothic and he spent some time in Sweden on the "inspection and collation of the Codex

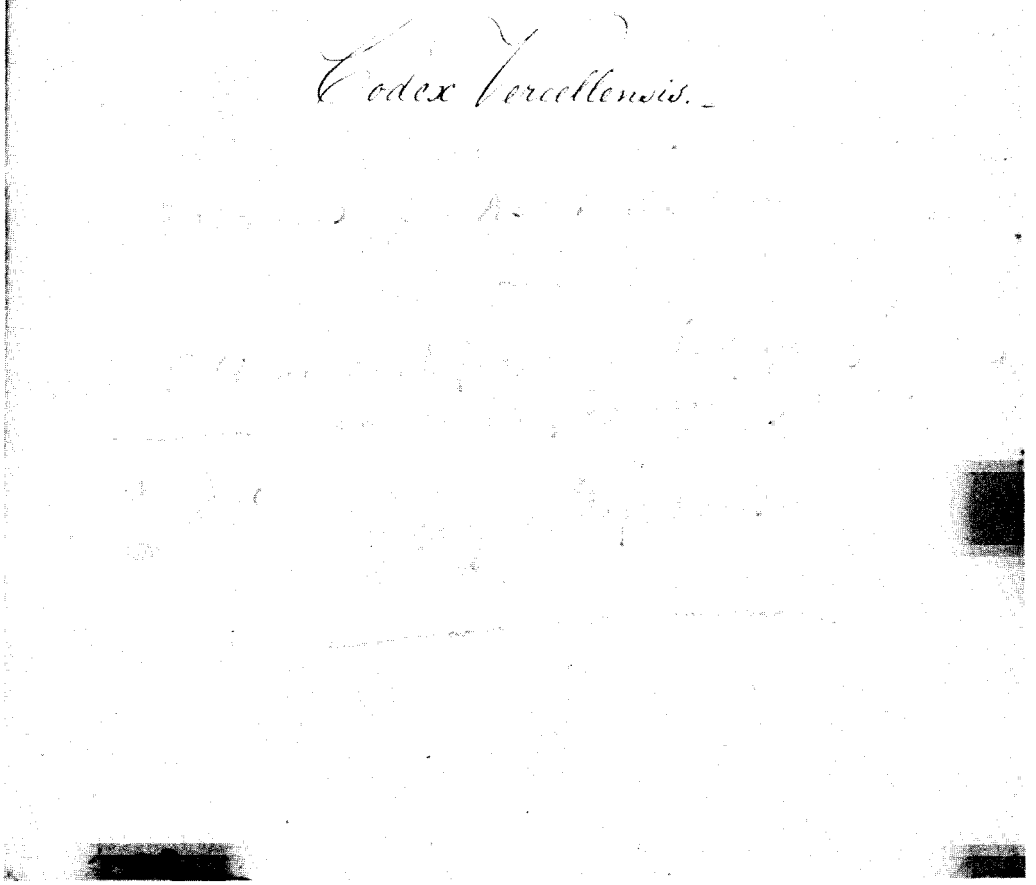
Argenteus" (p.lxxv and ff.). His Latin was good enough for him to follow lectures delivered in that language, he received instruction in Greek and German philology, and he wrote letters as readily in German or Danish as in English. Italian also he wrote "with fluency and elegance" (p.lxii). It is hard to imagine a man with such an appetite for the study of languages being entirely dependent on his Icelandic clerks for his mastery of Old Norse. Jón Sigurðsson's strictures, however, may have their origin in the astonishing fact that Cleasby had begun to learn Icelandic a mere eight years before his death. He died in 1847, and it was on the 5th November 1839 that his diary tells us: "began to read Icelandic" (p.lxxviii). Having begun to learn it he realised immediately the need for scholarly apparatus in this field, more than in those other branches of research which had previously taken his interest. With characteristic energy he threw himself at once into providing it. In February 1840 he wrote to John Kemble:

> I am up to my chin *in Islandicis*, and doing what I can to promote the preparation of a good sound old Northern Lexicon, and so get this, for so late in the 19th century, unaccountable and most scandalous blank filled up in this grand branch of Teutonic development. (p.lxxix).

It is clear from the material that survives that a fantastic amount of work did get done in the few years before Cleasby died. It is curious that this was apparently the first publication Cleasby envisaged, considering that most of his contemporaries and friends in the world of scholarship are well-known for their range of publications. One has only to think of Jacob Grimm, John Kemble or Benjamin Thorpe. Yet it was not until Cleasby was in his early forties that he paused in the process of acquiring knowledge to contemplate publication. It is idle to speculate on the reasons for this, but worth observing that he goes on to consider publishing translations of sagas with commentaries, though fully aware that he cannot tackle this project while working on his dictionary.

It is not impossible that a transcript of Cleasby's translation of *Hrafnkels Saga* into English, with which he amused himself in August 1840 while convalescing in Carlsbad, is still somewhere extant, but I do not know how much of Cleasby's writing survives. The *Life* is largely based on Cleasby's diaries, but I have not been able to discover any trace of these. He was a voluminous correspondent and Dasent quotes from an immense range of letters to most of the eminent Germanic philologists of his day, but there is no bibliography attached to his name, no record of any printed text or paper delivered to a learned society. The only context in which we know his name is in the accepted shorthand for the dictionary he "initiated", *Cleasby-Vigfusson*. The Cleasby papers now housed in libraries in Copenhagen and Oxford relate to this dictionary. The Arnamagnæan Institute has two volumes of material for Cleasby's dictionary, though not in his hand.[11] The Bodleian has among the papers of Vigfússon donated in 1924 a volume of material for the dictionary in Cleasby's own hand.[12]

To this meagre collection should be added two further items.[13]



The cover page of Richard Cleasby's notes on the Vercelli Codex with George Stephens's comments and signature.

In the summer of 1969 (the year of the Sixth Viking Congress held in Sweden) I chanced to be introduced by the late Professor Dag Strömbäck to Miss Florence Stephens, and to have the opportunity of looking through her library at Huseby Slot, inherited from George Stephens, "Professor of Old-English and of the English Language and Literature in the University of Cheapinghaven, Denmark".[14] Inside the hard covers of a facsimile of the Vercelli Codex was a small paper pamphlet measuring approximately eight inches by nine and a half. On the front cover in ink in an elegant script is the inscription *Codex Vercellensis*. Underneath in a crude pencil scrawl is added "RICHARD CLEASBY died in 1847". Below the same hand continues, "Sold as waste paper in Cheapinghaven, March 1875, and given to me". Below this again is a signature in the same crude scrawl "George Stephens". In the top right-hand corner in pencil so faint as to be barely legible, but in the first hand not the second, is the note "Dec 1837 RC" and below this "Vercell" is legible. The information is repeated with additions and more clearly on the first page, "Cod Vercell. Dec. 1837. Append. B. to Cooper's Report.", but Cleasby's initials do not occur again. The contents appeared to be about twenty pages of close-written notes on the poems of the Vercelli manuscript. As far as we could see this pamphlet was not noted in the library's catalogue.

I thought this a discovery of some interest, not having then any idea that Cleasby had ever worked on Old English material, and with the permission of Miss Stephens and the encouragement of Professor Strömbäck I brought the pamphlet away in order to examine it more closely, and to discover whether it merited publication. I offer below a preliminary description of the material. Its interest is in some ways more for the antiquarian than for the scholar of Old English, but since even recent editors of the Vercelli poems are still quoting the readings and interpretations of Kemble or Grein, and since Cleasby shows himself to be an Old English philologist of some distinction, it seems proper that his unpublished contribution to nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon studies should not go unnoticed.

The first question to be asked of the material is whether Stephens attributed it correctly. Cleasby's full signature does not appear, and there is only the faint RC on the cover to suggest authorship. But the script is certainly identical with that of the Bodleian manuscript known to be in Cleasby's own hand. Moreover it seems likely that Stephens had accurate information on the origins of his "waste paper". He himself knew Cleasby, even asking him for assistance with his own researches: "Mr. Stephens gave me a memorandum, begging me to make inquiry among Icelanders at Copenhagen as to any Folk-Sagor, Barn-Sagor, Folk-Visor, Barn-Visor . . ." (p.xciv). It can be assumed too that Stephens would recognise Cleasby's distinctive hand. Dasent gives us unusually little information on Cleasby's activities in December 1837, noting merely, "On the 5th of December he was back at Munich. The winter of 1837-38 now passed away and the spring found him still at work." (p.lxxiv). If the diaries did refer to a winter's work on the *Vercelli Codex* Dasent evidently did not find it quotable. But earlier on Dasent quoted the diaries on Cleasby's introduction to Old English: "We began to-day with Professor Schmeller to read the Anglo-Saxon version of

mid maran·
þe on gemynd nime·
þære deopestan·
dæg-peorðunga·
nede unden nodenum·
þa se niceſt ða·
ealleſ open-pealdend·
eanme beþealhte. Finit. 2178

XV.

þuſ ic ſnob ⁊ ſuſ·
þunh þæt ſæcne huſ· 2480
ponð-cnæſt pæſ·
⁊ pundrum læſ·
þragum þeodnde·
⁊ gefanc neodode·
nihteſ neanre·
nyſſe ic geanre·
be ðære niht æfne·
numnan gefealt·
þunh ða *mænan* miht·
on modeſ healt· 2490
pirdóm onfneah·
ic pæſ peoncum ſáh·
ſynnū afæled·
ſongū gepæled·
bitrum gebunden·
birgum befrungen·
æn me lane onlag·
þunh leohtne had·
gamelū to geoce·
gire unrcynde· 2500
mægen-cyning ámæt·
⁊ on gemynd begeat·
tonht ontynde·
tidum genymde·
bán-coran onband·
breoſt-locan onfand·
leoðu-cnæſt onleac·
þæſ ic luſtū breac·
pillum in ponlde·
ic þæſ puldneſ tneoneſ· 2510
oft naleſ æne·
hæfde in gemynd·
æn ic þæt punden·
onfnigen hæfde·
ymb done beonhtan beam·
ſſa ic on bocum fand·
pynda gangū·
on gefnitū cyðan·
be ðam ſige-beacne·
a pæſ ſæc oððæt· 2520
cnyſſed ceaſ-pelmum·
H· bnuſende·
þeah he in medo-healle·
maðmaſ þege·
æplede gold·
M· gnonnode·
ſ· gefena·
neaſu ſonge bneah·
enge nune·
þæn him ·M· fone· 2530
mil paðaſ mæt·
modig fnægde·
pinum geplenced·
ſ· ir gefſpiðnad·
gomen æftef geafum·
geogoð ir gecynned·
alð onmedla·
D· pæſ geafa·
geogoð-hadeſ glæm·
nu fynt geaſ-dagaſ· 2540
æftef fynſt-meafce·
fonð gepitene·
lif-pynne geliden·
ſſa ·ſ· togliðeð·
flodaſ gefyrde·

Benjamin Thorpe, Appendix B to Mr Cooper's Report on Rymer's *Foedera*, (1836), p.136, the runic section of *Elene*.

the Gospel of St. Matthew belonging to the 7th century, to be continued every Wednesday." (p.lxviii). That was in 1831. By 1839 his proficiency was such that he felt able to advise editors: "We immediately got on to the subject of his [Professor Leo's] Anglo-Saxon Lesebuch, when he quite agreed to my suggestions as to certain passages." (p.lxxiv).

If we accept Stephens's attribution of these notes to Cleasby, which on the evidence of the handwriting I think we must do, and the pencilled date 1837 as the year in which the notes were made, the next step is to probe the significance of the date. The heading to the first page of notes, 3r in my pagination, "Appendix B to Mr. Cooper's Report", gives us the information we need. Appendix B was the work of Benjamin Thorpe, appended to *Mr. Cooper's Report on Rymer's Foedera*. It was printed in London in 1836, but not published until 1869. Copies were not readily available between these dates, and Jacob Grimm complained, in July 1840, that John Kemble failed to get one for him. Interestingly, Grimm's complaint confirms that Cleasby already had this text: "Lappenburg and Cleasby also acted very stealthily with their copies",[15] and the date on Cleasby's notes indicates that a copy was in his possession shortly after the date of printing. It is possible that Thorpe sent it to him, but since he was in London for a fortnight in the late autumn of 1837, back in Munich on 5th December, it is at least a pleasing speculation that he left London with Appendix B under his arm, and that the date on his notes "Dec. 1837" reflects his immediate absorption in it.

Appendix B contains a number of Old English texts transcribed from manuscripts in foreign libraries, though the text of the Vercelli poems is from a copy of the manuscript by Dr Maier, not from the original.[16] The order of the texts printed in Appendix B which relate to Cleasby's selection is as follows:

(i) Poenitentialis Ecgberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis, Liber IVtus. [pp.13-35]

(ii) Glossarium Latino Anglo-Saxonicum, E Cod. Brux. [pp.36-43]

(iii) From the Anglo-Saxon Psalter in the Royal Library at Paris. [pp.45-46]

(iv) The Legend of St. Andrew, E Cod. Vercell. [pp.47-89]

(v) The Fates of the Twelve Apostles, A Fragment, E Cod. Vercell. [pp.90-92]

(vi) The Departed Soul's Address to the Body; E Cod. Vercell. [pp.93-97]

(vii) A Fragment, Moral and Religious; E Cod. Vercell. [pp.98-99]

(viii) The Holy Rood, A Dream; E Cod. Vercell. [pp.100-104]

(ix) The Invention of the Cross. E Cod. Vercell. [pp.105-138]

(x) Anglo-Saxon Gloss to Prudentius, From A MS. At Boulogne. [pp.139 ff.]

Cleasby makes notes on item (i), ignores the next two items, and then makes notes on all the poems[17] from the *Vercelli Codex*. Appendix B, apparently on Thorpe's personal decision, includes all the poems from the Vercelli manuscript but none of the prose, and Cleasby makes no comment that shows he knew about the other contents of the manuscript. He probably knew more than his notes indicate, for the excitement of the entire world of Germanic scholarship was centred in that decade on the discovery of this manuscript, and two of Cleasby's close friends were working on it at roughly the same time that he was. Jacob Grimm produced his *Andreas und Elene* in 1840, and based this edition, as Cleasby did his notes, on the printed text in Appendix B.[18] John Kemble edited and translated all the poems of the *Vercelli Codex*, also using the Appendix B text, but basing his work partly on Grimm's. He published Part I of his material in 1843, Part II in 1856,[19] but earlier than this, in his 1840 article "On Anglo-Saxon Runes", he had commented on the runic section of *Elene* and provided a translation of the relevant passage.[20] The bibliography for the *Vercelli Codex* listed in the appropriate volume of *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*[21] suggests several points of interest. Apart from the largely unannotated text of Appendix B itself no publication on the Vercelli material antedates Cleasby's notes. Indeed apart from two fairly minor contributions[22] nothing except the work of Grimm and Kemble was to appear in Cleasby's lifetime. Grimm confines his work to two poems. Kemble, apart from fairly brief comment on the runes, is largely content to translate, not discussing any of the real problems of the material. In this absence of detailed critical comment, Cleasby's contribution acquires a greater interest.

There is no other date on Cleasby's notes than "Dec. 1837" but they were not all made at exactly the same time. Bound within the main pamphlet are some pages of a smaller format. These include a separate set of notes on *Andreas* plus one complete page listing occurrences of geniðla in *Andreas* and *Elene*. He adds to his collection of compounds one from *Judith*, citing Thorpe's *Analecta*[23] as his source. Six of these smaller pages are virtually blank, though one contains at the bottom the faint and plaintive pencil query, "wheres the þing gehegan with Grendel in Beow?" A seventh of these pages contains a pencilled set of examples of "on with accusative", all drawn from the Vercelli poems.

Throughout the text there are marginal notes in red ink and it seems likely that these were added on a single occasion of comparison and cross-reference. If Cleasby really had no knowledge of Icelandic before November 1839 when he started reading Sæmund's *Edda* this must be the earliest date at which he could have added his red ink annotation to his comments on *Andreas* 3329 [1665b][24] geohðo mænað: "it is the icelandic geð = animus indoles Vafthrudn 1(ine) 76".[25] He makes the point again more briefly at *Elene* 644 [322a] gehðum geomre "Icel:[c] geð". Another red marginal annotation draws attention to an Old Saxon parallel quoting an example from the *Heliand*.

The references to Icelandic are in the marginalia only, but in the main body of his text Cleasby draws attention to forms or usages in Gothic, Old Frisian, Old Saxon or to Swedish, or to contemporary German dialects. For the Gothic he may simply quote the word, but more often gives a precise textual reference to Ulfilas. He frequently clarifies his notes by giving Latin as well as modern English equivalents. He knew a fair range of other Old English texts, referring occasionally to Thorpe's *Analecta*, regularly to *Beowulf* where he is using Kemble's first edition,[26] but he does not hesitate to disagree with Kemble. At *Elene* 1988 [991b] on gad in burgum he comments "Gad = lack . . . see Beow: 1314 [660b], 1892 [949b] where K translates erroneously 'goad'". Less frequently he refers to the Cædmonian poems, and I suppose his text here to be Thorpe's *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon*, published in 1832. His dictionary is Lye's *Dictionarium Saxonico- et Gothico-Latinum* of 1772, and perhaps the most regularly repeated phrase throughout his notes is "not in Lye".

A second item in the corpus of unpublished Cleasby material has been drawn to my attention by Professor F.C. Robinson, who has also most generously furnished me with his own notes on the contents. The following description is based on these notes. The manuscript, now in Cornell University, Beowulf MSS E5 is *Richard Cleasby's Notes on Beowulf*, apparently in a slightly larger format than the notes on the Vercelli Codex and much shorter. The initial inscription is closely parallel to the one on the cover of the Vercelli notes: "Richard Cleasby died Oct. 6 1847. Sold as waste paper in Cheaping Haven, March 1875 and given to me - George Stephens." A second inscription explains the divergent locations of these two sets of notes: "Given to me by George Stephens in summer of 1895 in Copenhagen shortly before his death. J.M. Hart". In the *Beowulf* notes we find Cleasby struggling to make sense of the Finnsburh episode and worrying about the identity of the eotenas, not to mention the precise status of Hengest. For line 1137 he translates wrecca as "wanderer" and comments: "Properly the Exile we don't know what bro't Hengest to Friesland". Cleasby anticipates Grundtvig and others in some of his emendations. At 1107 he translates, "the funeral pile was laid and heavy gold brought" and comments, "I read here ad for að", thus being the first to suggest a reading which most editors have chosen to adopt. On the other hand his suggestion that in line 1118 we should read guðrec astah for guðrinc astah, and translate, "the hostile smoke ascended", a suggestion to be put forward again by other philologists, is not one that has found favour with recent editors. But the degree of thought and expertise that has gone into the making of these notes is evident enough.

I offer below an edited version of Cleasby's notes on all the shorter Vercelli poems, on the Epilogue to *Elene* and on the *Pseudo-Ecgbert Penitential*. I omit *Andreas* and most of *Elene* partly for reasons of space, partly because for these two we have the early work of Jacob Grimm, but I include the last section of *Elene* because it is possible that Cleasby should have the credit (disputed in a friendly way between Grimm and Kemble) of first thinking through

Appendix B to Mr. Cooper's Report

Penitentiale Egberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis. Liber quartus

Pa. 16 art. 3 } hwatunga — hwating signifies "divination"

17 art. 3 } Jeff hwa brod ele odde styrfeg flæsc — "brod" is not in Lye, but probably signifies something gone into corruption — "styrfeg flæsc" is "flesh of a dead animal dying a natural death." (It is singular that the A. Saxons do not seem to have adopted the word "bread" so universal in the other german tongues (now an use in english — they seem to have been satisfied with "hlaf" both for loaf & bread.)

22 art. 4 } his gastlican cumendraw — I do not find this word in Lye — from the context I think it must mean "relatives" — i.e. "his spiritual relatives" — as god-father or god-mother &c. — (It is singular that this word "God" still exists in the south german dialects — "godin" signifies "the female sponsor either at Baptism or confirmation"). —

23 art. 2 } Jeah he gesyngsiegie — have as "gesinigan" = "to marry"?

art. 6 in cradle faran — cradle — is our "cart".

" 7. huvel hæruquon = aliquantum. It is generally written "hwel hwugu"

Pa. 24 art. 4 } ac by hyfad Pa fol to Leon } that is, they allowed hose to be made of the fell & in some skin, horns &c of the dead animals (tho' have died a natural death), but do not even allow their swine to eat of the flesh.

art. 8. wæstbe — a breach out — "aus schlag" — in weave — is probably an ~~unused~~ inward swelling or humor or perhaps, suffering in gen^l. A Swedish ~~word~~ "wærk" signifies pain.

Pa. 25 art. 7 } Jeah hæt forbeo — I find no word "forweaxan" in Lye — nor can I see as to the sense here can it mean "be weak, infirm"? —

26 art. 2 } this art. seems to be a sort of complement of the former ones; embracing all strange — so that I suppose we are to understand "if a person has promised his child to a convent, if it is necessary he may redeem it, like other "cattle"?

28 art. 6 } Jeff bedling and bedlinga hæmo — Lye has "bedling" — home delicacies — but I think it must have been a more pregnant signification?

31 art. 4 } on wæta[n] — I cannot make this out; wæta signifies humidity — liquor — can it mean "in a wet, moist state"? — or would about think it should be "made" corrupted with what follows

Cleasby's first page of detailed notes: f.3r

the significance of the runes.[27] I include his notes on the *Penitential* merely because I find them amusing.[28]

CLEASBY'S NOTES

3r

Appendix B to Mr. Cooper's Report

Pœnitentialis Ecgberti Archiespiscopi Eboracensis. Liber quartus.

page 16, article 4
hwatunga: hwatung signifies *divinatio*.

page 17, article 3
Gyf hwa brod ete oðde styrfig flæsc: brod is not in Lye but probably signifies something gone into corruption. Styrfig flæsc is "flesh of a dead animal dying a natural death". It is singular that the Anglo-Saxons do not seem to have adopted the word "bread" so universal in the other German tongues and now in use in English. They seem to have been satisfied with hlaf both for "loaf" and "bread".

page 22, article 4
his gastlican cumendran: I do not find this word [cumendran] in Lye. From the context I think it must mean "relatives" ie "his spiritual relatives" as godfather or godmother etc. (It is singular that this word god still exists in the south German dialects - godn signifies the female sponsor either at baptism or confirmation.)

page 23, article 2
þeah he gesynsigie: same as gesinigan, "to marry"?

page 23, article 6
in cræte faran: cræte is our "cart".

article 7
hwat hwuguon: *aliquantum*. It is generally written hwæt hugu.

page 24, article 4
ac hy lyfað þa fel to sceon: that is they allow shoes to be made of the fell, and use skin, horns etc. of the dead animals (which have died a natural death), but do not even allow their swine to eat of the flesh.

article 8
utsihðe: "a breaking out", *aus-schlag*.
inwerce: is probably an inward swelling or tumor or perhaps suffering in general. In Swedish *wærk* signifies "pain".

page 25, article 7
beah heo forbeo: I find no word forwesan in Lye, nor am I certain as to the sense here. Can it mean "be weak, infirm"?

page 26, article 2
This article seems to be a sort of completion of the former one embracing its reverse so that I suppose we are to understand "if a person has promised his child to a convent, if it is necessary he may redeem it, like other cattle"?

page 28, article 6
Gyf bædling mid bædling hæme: Lye has bædling, *homo delicatus* but I think it must here have a more pregnant signification.

page 31, article 4
on wætan: I cannot make this out: wæta signifies *humiditas*, "liquor". Can it mean "in a wet, moist state"? One would almost think it should be mæte corresponding with what follows.

3v

page 32, article 10
liðe: this seems here to mean "spirituous liquor"; "beer" being mentioned just before. Lye has lið, *poculum*, but it perhaps signifies the "liquor" in the *poculum*. The word still exists in the southern dialect, the *Leuthaus* at Berchtesgaden. See also lides anbitan, "to taste of drink, fermented liquor" *Heliand*, page 4, 12.

page 34, article 2
swefn-hrace: "interpretation of dreams": the "h" is unusual in hrace. The verb is reccan, reccean "narrate".

page 34, article 8
VII siðon: for siðum, ie seven years.

page 34, article 10
Ðreo æ festenne: ie great or legal fasts, but in the explanation four appear to be mentioned; 40 days before Easter (Lent); 40 nights (days) before the nativity (Advent); and ofer pentecosten bær bið 50 nihta. and ofer eastron thonne 40. What are these 2 last periods?

17r

The fates of the twelve Apostles

a Fragment.

E cod. Vercell:

v.19 [10a]
bær: *idem quod* hwær, so *der* in Swedish signifies both "there" and "where".

v.35 [18a]
ne þreodode he: þreodan (þreodian) in Lye *cogitare, deliberare*; here it means he did not hesitate on account of any king's power, but went forward in his work.

v.40 [20b]
leoht unhwilen: "permanent unchanging light" ie eternal,= the other world; see *Legend of St Andrew* v.2307 [1154a] and *Invention of the Cross* v.2469 [1231a].

v.42 [21b]
heriges bryhtme [*rectius*, byrhtme]: see *Legend of St Andrew* v.1736 [867a] "in the crash" or "rush"?

v.63 [32a]
siðe gesohte: siðe = *postea*.

v.83 [42a]
weard: for wearð.

17v

v.86 [43b]
aldre gelæðde: I think this gelæðde must be the same verb as lædan; "he led his life to" ie he went, betook himself to the Jews. (Lye has læððan = *odisse*). [Cleasby has read *Indeum* as *Iudeum*]

v.98 [49b]
þon̄ þæs leasan godu: "than the gods of the wicked one" ie Astrias. There is something very *naif* in these old Christian writers making the heathen gods neuter - hence the plural termination in "u".

v.107 [54a]
collen-ferð: *audax*, "lofty-minded" as supposed by Thorpe, *Analecta*, page 135, v.25, and confirmed in *Beowulf* 3608 [1806a] K[emble].

v.117 [59a]
sin: *perpetuo*.

v.127 [64a]
Sigelwarum: among the Æthiopians.

v.131 [66a]
the genitive leofes [*rectius*, leohtes] geleafan as well as dæges in the preceding line, result from or.

v.143 [72a]
ðurg stenges sweng: "by blows with a stick". Steng is the German *stange* "a pole".

v.169 [85a]
Þys þa æþelingas Þys is I suppose for Þus = "thus".

v.184-190 [92b-95b]
þonne ic sceal langne ham
eard-wic uncuð
ana gesece
læt me on laste
lic eorþan dæl
wæl ræf wunigean
weormum to hroþre.

gesece v.186 and læt v.187 instead of being first persons singular, present indicative, should be *infinitives* depending on ic sceal v.184 unless something is left out but which the alliteration does not indicate. From v.187
leave behind me
my body, the earthy part, (or, part of the earth)
the spoil of death, to dwell
for the benefit of worms.

[v.83 weard, v.86 gelæðde, v.169 Þys are errors in Appendix B. The MS readings wearð, gelædde and Þus agree with Cleasby's conjectures. V.186 gesece and 187 læt are manuscript errors, emended *ASPR* II, 53, to the infinitive forms as Cleasby rightly suggested. A comparison with Kemble's text and translation is interesting. Kemble keeps Thorpe's weard, gelæðde, Þys and læt, though silently emending gesece to gesecan. His translation suggests however that he is mentally using an emended text rather than the one he actually prints, making the same conjectural emendations as Cleasby does but not troubling his reader with them. His version of the last four lines can be compared with Cleasby's: "leave behind me / my body, a portion of earth, / my spoils remain / for a possession to the worm". I say "last lines" advisedly for neither Cleasby nor Kemble had access to the last part of this poem containing the runic signature. It was not printed in Thorpe, since a disfiguring blot on the relevant folio prevented an accurate transcript from being made.]

18r

The departed Soul's address to the Body

e Cod. Vercell.

Part 1. The condemned Soul.

v.18 [9b]
geohðum hremig: in possession as it were of its mind, mental qualities? see the *Legend of St. Andrew* v.136 [66b]

v.20 [10b]
sawle findan: the nominative is sawl, is this the dative "with the soul"? The subject is gast, v.11 [*rectius* v.17 ie. the reference to gast *in* 9a *not in* 6a]

v.33 [17a]
Hwæt druh ðu dreorega: "what didst thou, thou dreary, sad one?"

v.34 [17b]
to hwan: this masculine form leads me to think that ende must be understood; *ad quem finem* = "to what end didst thou torment me?", or hwan must be for the dative hwam.

v.35 [18a]
fulness: = "foulness". "Fullness" would require two ls as in English. See also v.47 [24a].

v.37 [19a]
lames: lam = our "loam", "earth".

v.39 [20a]
to hwan þinre sawle þing: to hwan see v.34 above. I suppose þinre sawle þing is not much more than þine sawl.

v.44 [22b]
hwæt is here interjection, also v.50 [25b]. gyfl: "meal". (æfen-gyfl "evening meal": Lye).

v.47 [24a]
geodest: is this for ge-eodest? The alliteration speaks for its being so, as it would then alliterate with eorþan in the next line whereas now there is no alliteration. "dum turpis versabatis in omnibus horrendis libidinibus" literally "libidinosis horroribus".

v.48 [24b]
on eorþan scealt: the infinitive wesan or weorðan is understood, as often also in Old Saxon.

v.52 & 3 [26b & 27a]
hu þis is þus lang hider / hwæt þe la engel: I do not exactly understand the connexion of the sense here. Does it allude to the present coming of the soul (spirit) to the body to plague it, or an earlier original emanation of the soul from God?

v.77-82 [39a-41b]
"When thou wert elate from good living and full of wine, thou didst not act nobly and wert thirsty (that is had not partaken of) as regards the body of the Lord and spiritual drink." sæd, v.78 is the German *sat*, *plenus*, *refertus*. In the north of England "sad" is used of things very closely compressed as for instance of hay in the stack.

v.93 [47a]
næfre þu etc: here is an evident ellipsis. We must understand gif þu hæfdest ge-hoged, "thou wouldst never have" etc.

18v

v.95 [48a]
generedest: generian = *eripere*, *liberare*, *redimere*. This does

not apply here. I think it should be geneþredest from geneþrian, geneoðrian = *damnare, humiliare.*

v.97 [49a]
minra gesynta: this seems here placed in opposition to þinra nieda in the foregoing line: "by reason of the lust of thy desires shalt thou be ashamed on seeing my pure healthy state on the great day etc". gesynto = *sanitas, prosperitas* etc.

v.114 [57b]
hyrsta þy readan: this is poetical for reade hyrsta = "red (golden) ornaments". (All these things have no power to (adon) remove thee from thy grave.)

v.117 [59a]
þinre bryde-beag: this should doubtless be þinre bryde beag "the ring of thy bride": beag is masculine so that þinre cannot apply to it.

v.122 [61b]
ban is a neuter plural but bereafod and besliten are not inflected as is very common after this gender.

v.125 [63a]
minum unwillu: "against my wish"? [MS unwillu, noted by Thorpe in Appendix B, emended in text to "unwillum". Cleasby had both readings in front of him.]

v.139-142 [70a-71b]
"the hateful, impious abode which thou, through thy conduct in life hast inflicted upon me."

v.157 [79a]
bær: this should possibly be þæt, though it may perhaps mean "there, on earth" see v.168 [83b].

v.160-161 [80b-81a]
ætes tilode: "didst till (labor) for thy food etc. as an ox in the fields".

v.177-180 [90a-91b]
wunda onwrigene etc: does this relate to the wounds inflicted on our Saviour? [there is a pencilled addition here which I cannot read.]

v.187 [95a]
wunde wiþer-lean: if this is the substantive wiþer-lean = "retribution", I cannot see how it is connected with what precedes. If the verb wiþer-leanian = *repondere, retribuere* were used it would give a good sense, taking wunda as accusative singular: lean as a verb signifies *reprehendere, vituperare*; might it in this sense signify "he will reproach the wounds" mentioned v.177?

v.190-1 [*rectius* 191-2; 97ff.]
"there is not then ever so small a joint which grows on a limb, which thou shalt not then separately etc." [A faint pencil addition *Muspili* presumably implies a comparison with the Old High German poem.]

v.203 [103a]
fyrnað þus þæt flæsc-hord: does this mean "so wird sich der Leib entfernen"?

v.215 [109a]
geaglas: *fauces* or *manibula*. This word seems to be written geagl, geafl and ceafl.

v.217 [110a]
sina beoð asocene: this asocene should doubtless be asolcene from asealcan = *flaccescere*; "the sinews are withered, become flaccid".

v.218 [110b]
swyra = *collum*.

v.222 [113a]
Hitherto he speaks in the singular of the particular person to whom the soul addresses itself (from 208) [105b] but here he speaks in the plural generally: "their tongues (those of persons in the grave in general) are etc."; unless the tongues of the worms are meant: totogenne = *auseinandergezogen*, see v.234 [119a].

v.228 [116a]
gifer hatte se wyrm: gifer is an adjective meaning "greedy", *avidus*; what is hatte? (*vocatus*): can it be for hæfde? see gifel v.245 [124b].

v.231 [117b]
se genydde to me: I cannot understand this; genydde signifies *coegit*, *nothigte*, "forced".

19r

v.244 [124a]
werede: if a participle it should be wered, lic being neuter; and as an imperfect it should be transitive but it has no accusative; hit as a pronoun reflective is perhaps left out.

v.247 [125b]
þæt mæg etc: wesan I suppose is here left out and to be understood.

Part 2. *The Blessed Soul*.

v.36 [144b]
sealdest me wilna geniht: wilna geniht = "enough of what I desired" seems the opposite of wilna gæd or gad = "lack of what I desire" which often occurs.

v.49 [151a]
bygdest: "thou bowed thyself" in opposition to the ahofe in the next line.

v.57 [155a]
æfre: æfre does not here mean "for ever", but "ever" in the sense of "at all" at any time, for a hwile. [sic]

v.64 [158b]
syððan brucan: a subject is wanting to brucan, and indeed at least two lines as there is no alliteration between this and the foregoing.

v.74-5 [163b-164a]
dædum agilpan: "be proud of our deeds, of what we have earned / deserved".

A Fragment

moral and religious

e Cod. Vercell.

v.29 [16a]
siofa: ie. sefa.

v.37 [20a]
anleofan: "food", *victus, idem quod* leofen v.2245 [*Andreas* 1123a]

v.66 [34b]
getryweð: joins confederates through his power, *mit gewalt*. If miltse mid mane could be governed by drefeð in v.63 [33a] = *conturbat*, I should think mægene getryweð meant "he confides in his strength".

v.67 [35a]
ehteð æfestra: ehtian governs genitive; "he persecutes the pious".

v.69 [36a]
geneahe: this probably signifies (enough) "abundance" = "prosperity" in contradistinction to nið: (see *Beowulf*, v.1599). [*rectius* 1559 ie 783a].

v.71 [37a]
freoð: "loves", *amat*.

19v

v.77-8 [40]
forþan eallunge / hyht geceoseð: there seems something wanting here as these lines do not alliterate, which makes the sense uncertain down to v.82 [42b].

v.83 [43a]
ham is probably wanting here, which would alliterate with the next line, which is at present not the case.

The holy Rood

a Dream

e Cod: Vercell:

v.3 [2a]
hæt: I imagine this should be þæt: me gemætte = *es träumte mir* ie "I dreamed".

v.8 [4b]
sillicre treow: sillicre is a comparative neuter: "a more wundrous [sic] tree".

v.15 [8a]
æt foldan sceatum: "over the regions of the earth" = "the earth"? foldan sceatas seems a sort of standard expression for terra, *orbis*, (*regiones terrae*). Anglo-Saxon sceat is after the laws of mutation the German *schoos* "lap", "bosom" etc.
[marginal addition] see v.73 & 85 [37a and 43a].

v.16-17 [8b-9a]
Swylce þær fife wæron / uppe on þam eaxle gespanne: are these five gems which were up on a sort of bracelet or chain on the shoulder? Gespannan signifies *jungere*; gespann may I think either signify "a yoke" eg. of oxen etc. or a row* of anything, beads, gems, joined together into an armlet, necklace etc. Eaxle-gespann if written in one word and with a different context might perhaps mean a companion "comrade" like eaxl-gesteald (*rectius*: gestealla) in *Beowulf*.
* as it clearly does v.2274 [*Elene* 1134a]

v.18-24 [9b-12b]
Is engel v.18 for engelas agreeing with ealle, nominative plural, or is engel accusative singular to beheoldon and ealle the nominative, which ealle is then repeated in an expletive manner by verses 22, 23 and 24? v.19 fægere þurh forð-gesceaft = "fair by reason of their future condition"? fægere is plural. v.20 "nor was there any gallows of a malefactor". v.21: to what does hine belong? Is it the "tree" of v.11 [6a] or the "angel" of v.18 [9b]?

20r

v.43 [22a]
bleom: bleoh = *color*; also *Invention of the Cross* v.1520 [758b].

v.61 [31a]
wæfer-syne: = *spectaculum*.

v.93 [47a]
opene inwid-hlemmas: hlem = *sonus, fragor.* It occurs in *Beowulf* (hlemmum) v.4397 [2201a]; also in the *Codex Exoniensis* apparently in the same sense and from hlimman = *sonare*: but here it must I think have some other signification, or something must be left out; indeed the alliteration of inwid with ic in the next line is not very sufficient. (According to Kemble in the glossary to *Beowulf* hilde-hlemma = *fragor belli*, may be also taken personally as *heros*. A personal signification would in our case be very desirable.) Is the alliterating letter (*alliterans principalis*) in the second line (94) the æ in n(e) ænigum, or is it possibly the i in ic which alliterates with o and i in line 93? I think not the latter.
[marginal addition] Can hlem mean "a blow"?

v.107 [54a]
scirne sciman: = "bright with rays": scirne, accusative agreeing with hræw.

v.118 [59b]
þam secgum: to the men who took our Saviour down from the cross.

v.119 [60a]
eadmod elne micle: This is a curious combination: eadmod = *humilis* and elen or ellen = *fortitudo*, "valour", "courage"; but it must here mean "intenseness of feeling" or the like; see also v.242 [123a] where it seems to have the same signification in connexion with prayer: micle is one of those remains of an ablative which we sometimes meet with, as sine; Cædmon: pa. 53, l.

v.123 [62a]
steame bedrifenne: bedrifan = "to drive" "pursue" etc. I think it must be an error for bedripenne: driopan, dripan signifies "to drip" = *stillare*, and the signification is wetted = dripping with (steam = vapour) perspiration as it were "reeking sweat" from the labour of taking him down, see v.137 [69a].

v.139 [70a]
reotende: "weeping" (O.H.Ger. *riozan*), see *Legend of St Andrew* v.3421 [1712b]. In this verse the plural we is used which must therefore allude to the three crosses of our Saviour and the two malefactors.

v.138 [69b]
reste he bær mæte weorode: I cannot make out what is the meaning of mæte weorode. It occurs again v.245 [124a]. Mæte signifies *mediocris* and weorod = "a host, company, troop". Can it mean "with a moderate company, number of persons"? But then it should be mætum unless this is another remain of an ablative, see above v.119. V.245 the person is "alone" = ana to whom it applies. Can mæte be a sort of adverb signifying *privatus*, *sine* or the like?

v.140 [70b; marginal addition]
something wanting in this line, because there should always be at

least two syllables after the alliterating one; or else two or more lines are left out.

v.150 [75b]
after speaking in the plural from v.139, the cross in this verse speaks again in the singular.

v.179 [91a]
ofer holm-wudu: holm in Anglo-Saxon signifies "the sea", in Old Saxon it signifies "a mountain". Can the meaning here be "above (all) mountain wood or trees"? Sea-wood does not seem to apply. [Marginal addition] See *Beowulf* v.2841 [1421a].

20v

v.248 [125b]
feala ealra gebad / langung hwila: is it feala langung gebad ealra hwila "much longing attended every delay"?

v.258 [130b]
min mundbyrd is / geriht to bære rode: ie "I look for protection to the cross - as regards a protector I am turned (my direction is) to the cross or rood".

v.262 [132b]
heoron: should this be heonon for heonan?

22r

The invention of the Cross

e cod: vercell:

The middle age term *inventio Crucis* is the cause of this title. It is in fact the "finding" or discovery of the cross; if one could not attribute the title to the above cause it would be a very equivocal one!

[22r-26r contain detailed notes on *Elene* 1-1235]

26v

The affair of the finding of the cross terminates with verse 2478 [1235] and *Finit* is placed at the bottom, but in the succeeding chapter or canto, the author gives a sort of epilogue, speaking in and of his own person, and seems, in order to acquaint the reader with his name, to have inserted promiscuously the letters of the same in Runes; we have in

The affair of the finding of the Cross terminates with verse 2478 of "Finit" is placed at the bottom, but in the second chapt.r or Canto, the author gives a sort of epilogue speaking in his own person, Cynewulf, in order to acquaint the reader with his name, to have inserted promiscuous by the letters of the same in Runes, — we have in v. 2522 ᚻ = v. 2526 ᚳ = v. 2527 ᚠ = v. 2530 ᛗ = v. 2534 ᛁ = v. 2538 ᚾ = v. 2544 ᛇ = v. 2546 ᚠ

c y n e w u l f

The first part of the chapter down to 2491 is obscure & in an affected style Cynewulf chiefly in line-rhyme - of which another specimen occurs v. 2504 & 2508

v. 2480 *fæt fæcne hus* — does this mean his own body - deceitful - not yet purified of the truth?

2482 *wundum læs*

2484 *reodoþe* - should this perhaps be *reordode* = spoke - restrain - signifies to redden - blush.

2488 - is there a stop here - so that v. 2489 & 2491 signify - "through glorious might & power, in the thought of my mind I discovered, because - acquainted with wisdom"?

2494 *gewealed* - tormented - i.q. bewealed leg.d of St. And.w v. 2721.

2497 *onlag* - from *on.licgan* = *accubare*.

2503 *torht* - is this here a substant.e - light - brightness?

2504 *tidum gerymde* — *gerymman* - signifies *dilatare* - can this mean an extens.n of the limits of time - as if one carrying his views into futurity

v. 2505 *bam cafan onband* — *bam* - weather, apply to a living person? - scale - the next line, tho' broken in a moral sense is more intelligible

2508 *breac* - pret. of *brucan* - *frui* - construed as usual with the gen:

2517 *swyda gangū* - is this as it were in the course of words - i.e. in words - *swyd* for word? - or is *swyd* - *fata* - *Geschick*?

2520 - a full stop seems to precede this, tho' no passage to begin, but the sense of which is equivocal for the circumst.s of mine not understanding what the rune ᚻ signifies, - tho' name in the rune alphabet is cân & a ᚳ is accepp.d by the *adjeratr* - but what does cên mean? W. Grimm has conjectured Kien - the resin of the pine - but this does not seem to apply here; - the context would lead one to suppose that the name of some person was denoted by this rune; moreover a finite verb is want.d. tho' there perhaps ~~a word is~~ a participle is implied, or to be understood.

Cleasby's notes on the runic section of *Elene* f.26v

v.2522 [1257b]	v.2526 [1259b]	v.2527 [1260a]	v.2530 [1261b]	v.2534 [1263b]	v.2538 [1265b]	v.2544 [1268b]	v.2546 [1269b]
							
c	y	n	e	w	u	l	f

the first part of the chapter down to 2491 [1242a] is obscure and in an affected style, and seems chiefly in line-rhyme of which another specimen occurs from v.2501-2508 [1247a-1250b].

v.2480 [1236b]
bæt fæcne hus: Does this mean his own body - deceitful - not yet possessed of the truth?

v.2482 [1237b]
wundrum læs: [blank space left for comment.]

v.2484 [1238b]
reodode: Should this perhaps be reordode = "spoke"? Reodian signifies "to redden", "blush".

v.2488 [1240b]
Is there a stop here, so that from 2489-2491 [1241a-1242a] signify "through glorious might or power, in the thought of my mind I discovered, became acquainted with wisdom"?

v.2494 [1243b]
gewæled: = "tormented" cf. bewæled, *Legend of St. Andrew* v.2721 [1361a].

v.2497 [1245a]
onlag: from onlegan = *excitare*.

v.2503 [1248a]
torht: Is this here a substantive - "light", "brightness"?

v.2504 [1248b]
tidum gerymde: geryman signifies *dilatare*. Can this mean an extension of the limits of time, as it were carrying his views into futurity?

v.2505 [1249a]
ban-cofan onband: How does this apply to a living person? See also the next line, which however in a moral sense is more intelligible.

v.2508 [1250b]
breac: preterite of brucan; *frui*; construed as usual with the genitive.

v.2517 [1255a]
wyrda gangum: Is this, as it were, "in the course of words" ie "in words" - wyrd for word? Or is wyrd "fate", *geschick*?

2526. the Runic ᚩ call'd ỳr Translated by Lye ỳmmen "bogen" = bow, is likewise here not applicable but the name of a person seems probably conceal'd under it: wh person in the next line is call'd a read-sefera - the runic ᚱ being call'd "read or "rword" this a compan. in necessity"

2529. enge runne

2530 the runic ᛘ is call'd "eh" = a horse. which appears decided'y to be its significat. here.

2534. the runic ᚹ is call'd "wên" = hope - which it seems here doubtfully to signify.

2538 - the runic ᚢ is call'd "ur" Translated ox (auer ocs) but which does not appear its significat. here, nor do I know what is

2541 fyrst - mearce - the marked or allotted period.

2544. the runic ᛚ is call'd "lagu" - signifies "the sea, water" which is no doubt its meaning here.

2546 the runic ᚠ is call'd "faeh" = feus - pecunia &c. for that signifies here.

2552 iged - no doubt for go. gad = goes.

2557 in ned - cleofan "in his cave or rock below" this almost puts one in mind of the ancient Celtic in his cave

2564 tion - leg - as it were "accusatory or blaming or punishg. fire" embraces all who are born in the world when the Lord sits in judg.t at the last day - so that the belief of this wonder was that not even the good go to heaven without slight touch of purgatory, & these are the "dom faesle" mentd v. 2584. who were supposed on the pile to only get a very bearable warming. the 2d. divis.n (the whole race are divided into three portions) the sinful, mentd v. 2596 but not to so be beyond forgiveness, are in the middle of the pile & get a good scorch.g. but as appears fr. v.s 2618 & 19. are purified by the fires of hell rally see God; the third division, are the dreadfully wicked, for whom there is no forgiveness, & they are from the fire cast down into the depth of hell v 2604 &c

+ here the two last divisions are made to consist to the third last treated of

2578 - the subj.t to this line is no doubt "dryhten" wheel must be brought down fr. v 2565 - perhaps "he" is left out.

2582 on widan feorse - does this mean "during a long life" - or "during or through great dist.ce of time"; - is the feorse akin to feor "far" - or to feorh = life?

2583 ofer sidne grund = over the wide earth.

2600 in hatne grund wylm - this accus: is fr. gemengde v 2597 "mingled into the hot dough qualm.

2617 - torn - gomol Cam - may here either be nom: plur.l (fr. gumol la) = "the wrathful enemies" - or it may be dat. sing.l = "with enraged hate".

2648. to widan feorse - as above v. 2582 - it would almost appear that the signifiat. above mentd was here meant.

Cleasby's notes on the runic section of *Elene* f.27r

v.2520 [1257b]
A full stop seems to precede this, and a new passage to begin, but the sense of which is equivocal from the circumstance of our not understanding what the rune ᚳ * signifies; its name in the rune alphabets is cen and a c is necessary to the alliteration, but what does cen mean? W. Grimm has conjectured *kien* "the resin of the pine" but this does not seem to apply here. The context would lead one to suppose that the name of some person was denoted by this rune. Moreover a finite verb is wanting . . . or wæs is wanting to cnyssed or to drusende.
* [pencilled addition] In Icelandic kæn [*rectius* kaun] = "wound", *vulnus*. Would this apply?

27r

v.2526 [1259b]
The Rune ᛦ called yr and translated by W. Grimm *bogen*, "bow", is likewise here not applicable but the name of a person seems probably concealed under it; which person in the next line is called nead-gefera, the rune ᚾ being called nead or neod, thus "a companion in necessity". [pencilled addition] Yr in Icelandic is "small fine rain". Would this apply?

v.2529 [1261a]
enge rune: What does rune here convey - *consilium*?

v.2530 [1261b]
The rune ᛘ is called eh "a horse", which appears decidedly to be its signification here.

v.2534 [1263b]
The rune ᚹ is called wen "hope", which it seems here doubtless to signify.

v.2538 [1265b]
The rune ᚢ is called ur and translated "ox" (aurochs) but which does not appear its signification here, nor do I know what is.

v.2541 [1267a]
fyrst-mearce: "the marked or allotted period".

v.2544 [1268b]
The rune ᛚ is called lagu and signifies "the sea", "water", which is no doubt its meaning here.

v.2546 [1269b]
The rune ᚠ is called feoh = *pecus*, *pecunia* and has that signification here.

v.2552 [1272b]
igeð: no doubt for ge-gæð "goes".

v.2557 [1275a]
in ned-cleofan: "in his cave or rock below". This almost puts one in mind of the ancient Eolus in *his* cave.

v.2564 [1279b]
tion-leg: as it were "accusatory" or "blaming" or "punishing" fire embraces all who are born in the world when the Lord sits in judgement on the last day - so that the belief of this writer was that not even the good got to heaven without a slight touch of purgatory, and these are the soðfæste mentioned v.2584 [1289b] who were uppermost on the pile and only got a very bearable warming. The second division (the whole race are divided into three portions) the sinful, mentioned v.2596 [1295b], but not so as to be beyond forgiveness, are in the middle of the pile and get a good scorching, but as appears from v.*2618 *et seqq.* [1306b] are purified by the fire and finally see God. The third division are the dreadfully wicked, for whom there is no forgiveness, and they are from the fire cast down into the depth of hell v.2604 etc. [1299b].
* here the two first divisions are mentioned in opposition to the third last treated of.

v.2578 [1286b]
The subject to this line is no doubt dryhten which must be brought down from v.2565 [1280a]. Perhaps he is left out.

v.2582 [1288b]
on widan feore: Does this mean "during a long life" or "during or through great distance of time". Is the feore akin to feor = "far" or to feorh = "life"?

v.2583 [1289a]
ofer sidne grund: "over the wide earth".

v.2600 [1297b]
in hatne wylm: This accusative is from gemengde v.2597 [1296a] "mingled into the hot qualm".

v.2617 [1306a]
torn-geniðlan: may here either be nominative plural (from geniðla) = "the wrathful enemies" or it may be dative singular "with enraged hate".

v.2648 [1321b]
to widan feore: see above v.2582 [1288b]. It would almost appear the second signification above mentioned was here meant.

[Cleasby notes above difficulties that Kemble glosses over in his *Archaeologia* article, particularly the difficulty of finding an acceptable translation for three of the runes. Cleasby anticipates Sisam[29] in thinking that these runes cannot carry the function of an ordinary word in the sentence, but must be used instead of a name.

Sisam takes his argument a stage further, suggesting that they stood for the name of the poet himself, but Sisam of course is presenting a fully thought out case, Cleasby merely asking questions of the material in a document not designed for publication. Cleasby's references to Grimm in the runic material are to Wilhelm Grimm's *Ueber Deutsche Runen*, published in 1821.]

NOTES

1 *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* based on the MS. collections of the late Richard Cleasby enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson, M.A. with an Introduction and Life of Richard Cleasby by George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., (Oxford, 1874).

2 "The Cleasby-Vigfusson Icelandic Dictionary", *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal* 140 (1874), 228-58. The *DNB* attributes this article to Henry Reeve. The article itself refers to Reeve's friendship with Cleasby: "By this time [1830] Richard Cleasby was, as may be supposed, a very good German scholar, and here, in company with his friend Henry Reeve, who, with Sir John Lefevre, is almost the last survivor of those who knew him at that early time, he faced German Philosophy in earnest . . ." (p.233).

3 Nicholson's paper was printed in pamphlet form, Kendal, 1874.

4 Nicholson, p.15.

5 *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, (2nd ed., Oxford, 1957), p.vii.

6 Elizabeth Knowles, "Notes on a first edition of 'Cleasby-Vigfússon'", *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*, 20 (1980), 165-78.

7 Knowles, p.172.

8 Knowles, p.169. Jón Sigurðsson was Vigfússon's co-editor for *Biskupa Sögur* (Copenhagen, 1858-78).

9 *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 1st ed. p.lxii. All subsequent references to Cleasby when accompanied by page numbers are from Dasent's *Life* in this edition of the dictionary.

10 Raymond A. Wiley, *John Mitchell Kemble and Jakob Grimm*: a correspondence 1832-1852, (Leiden, 1971), pp.247 and 234. I should like to thank Miss Mary Barham Johnson for her great kindness in examining her collection of Kemble's letters in the hope of locating further Cleasby references.

11 MS Access 2. The entry in the *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling* reads "Artikler af R. Cleasby's Icelandic-English Dictionary, efter den oprindelig plan". The entry seems to have been suggested by Konráð Gíslason whose letter, in Danish, is preserved inside the first volume of the manuscript: "Dear Friend, 'Articles' - or 'Some Articles' - 'from *R. Cleasby's* Icelandic-English Dictionary' is probably adequate, when the *edition* is called (and may be called) *'Cleasby-Vigfússon's* Icelandic. English Dictionary'. One *could* - 'Superflua non nocent' - add in parenthesis 'according to the original plan'." There is irony here, especially in the subtle variations of underlining. It is salutary to remind ourselves that Konráð Gíslason was Cleasby's first Icelandic teacher in 1839 (p.lxxviii). The slighting references in the published dictionary to Cleasby's Copenhagen helpers roused a good deal of defensive - perhaps justified - anger, see Björn M. Ólsen's Introduction to Konráð Gíslason, *Efterladte Skrifter*, (Copenhagen, 1897), pp.ix-xxii.

12 Bodleian MS Icelandic c.8. There are also nine letters written by Cleasby between 1841 and 1844 in the collection of Brynjólfur Pétursson's papers in Landsarkivet for Sjælland (Skiftedokumenter Part I 147 A and B 1850-51).

13 Knowledge of the second item, Cleasby's *Notes on Beowulf*, see below p.21, I owe entirely to Professor F.C. Robinson of Yale University.

14 I quote Professor Stephens's title as it appears in his corpus of *Runic Monuments*, mainly to demonstrate his habitual and idiosyncratic use of the form *Cheapinghaven*, used in his superscript on both sets of notes by Cleasby. It must be of some significance that the year in which Stephens claims that these notes were sold as waste paper, 1875, is the year after the publication of the dictionary.

15 Wiley, p.205: "auch Lappenberg und Cleasby thaten ganz verstolen mit ihren exemplaren". Marvin C. Dilkey and Heinrich Schneider, "John Mitchell Kemble and the Brothers Grimm", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 40 (1941), 471.

16 The situation is lucidly and briefly summarised by P.O.E. Gradon in her introduction to *Cynewulf's Elene* (London, 1958), pp.6-9. For detailed comment see N.R. Ker, "C. Maier's Transcript of the Vercelli Book", *Medium Ævum* 19 (1950), 17-25.

17 Appendix B and Cleasby use the titles *The Legend of St Andrew* and *The Invention of the Cross*, but ever since the publication of *Andreas und Elene* Grimm's names seem to have been generally adopted. I have kept Cleasby's usage whenever quoting directly, but preferred the shorter and more familiar titles elsewhere.

18 Jacob Grimm, *Andreas und Elene*, (Cassel, 1840). On Grimm's transcription from printed texts see Merrel D. Clubb, "Grimm's Transcript of Cædmon", *Philological Quarterly* 44 (1965), 152-72.

19 J.M. Kemble, *The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis with an English Translation* (London, 1843 and 1856). Part I contains *The Legend of St Andrew*, Part II everything else. Mostly Kemble keeps the Appendix B titles but adapts Grimm's usage in his *Elene or the Recovery of the Cross*, doubtless finding, like Cleasby, the word "invention" too equivocal.

20 *Archaeologia* 28 (1840), 327-72. His discussion of the *Elene* runes is from p.360.

21 *The Vercelli Book*, ed. G.P. Krapp, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records II* (subsequently abbreviated *ASPR*) (New York, 1932), pp.lxxxi ff.

22 The *ASPR* bibliography includes a "Note on Vercelli and Cardinal Guala" in the 1845 *Quarterly Review* and sections from *Andreas* and *Elene* in Ebeling's *Angelsæchsisches Lesebuch* of 1847.

23 Benjamin Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (London, 1834).

24 Appendix B numbers its text by half-lines, a practice which Cleasby inevitably follows. This makes cross-reference so maddening that I have invariably supplied the line numbers according to modern editions, enclosing them in square brackets.

25 I do not know what text Cleasby was using of *Vafþrúðnismál* and other Eddic poems, but the *Íslandica* bibliography indicates a choice of editions.

26 J.M. Kemble, *The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, The Travellers Song and the Battle of Finnesburh* (London, 1833). Reeve, in the *Edinburgh Review*

article cited note 2 above, says (p.237), "His [Cleasby's] copies of 'Kemble's Beowulf', which are before us as we write, show by the number and searching character of the notes which they contain, how far he had entered into the realms of Teutonic philology . . .".

27 Wiley, pp.199 and 203-4.

28 In the introductory part of this article I have attempted diplomatic presentation of Cleasby's notes, but in the main body of transcription I impose my own system of presentation and punctuation, silently expanding Cleasby's abbreviations. I use square brackets to indicate my own additions and comments.

29 Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp.21-8.

THE SPEAKER IN *THE HUSBAND'S MESSAGE*

By PETER ORTON

The Old English poem *The Husband's Message* (hereafter *HM*) presents a variety of problems for editors and critics. Many of these stem from the fact that the one surviving manuscript of the poem - the Exeter Book - has suffered damage, with the result that parts of the text of *HM* are irrevocably lost.[1] A further complication is that the group of verses which precedes *HM* in the manuscript, usually defined as *Riddle* 60 by editors, is held by some to be part of the same poem as *HM*.[2] The scribe's presentation of his work is not decisive one way or the other,[3] and we cannot be sure that the missing portions of *HM* did not provide evidence relevant to the problem. Among questions of interpretation, one of the chief difficulties has been the identity of the speaker of the poem. Some have taken this to be a human envoy whose mission is to convey and present a rune-staff (the inscription on which is given in lines 50-51 of the poem) sent by a man to his wife or beloved from whom he has been separated; others take the entire poem as a prosopopoeic utterance of the rune-staff itself. This question, too, is affected by the fact that the first of the two main damaged sections of the text (lines 2-7) forms a large part of the passage (1-12) in which the speaker introduces himself. This essay will reconsider the various objections that have been raised to the theory that the speaker is a rune-staff, and suggest some new answers to them in the course of a reinterpretation of the poem.

As the meaning of the damaged opening of the text has a bearing on the nature of the speaker, it will be useful to begin with a re-examination of it. Leslie's arrangement, in his edition, of the surviving words and letters in verse-lines 2-7 tries to take account of the size of the gaps in the manuscript in estimating the amount of text we have lost. There is, of course, room for disagreement about the amount and meaning of the original material represented by the larger lacunae; but where the gap is small, as in the first MS line of the poem, the possibilities are limited, and the character of the surrounding text limits them further. Leslie's text of verse-lines 1-3 is as follows:

> Nu ic onsundran þe secgan wille
> ..... (n) treocyn. Ic tudre aweox;
> in mec ælda[a] .....sceal

The final a of ælda is purely editorial; the n preceding treocyn is little more than a guess; dots represent the approximate number of lost letters. A hole in the margin after treocyn creates the

possibility of an original inflected form such as treocynne; and so the word is best quoted as treocyn(-). The editors of the facsimile edition are more cautious than Leslie in their transcription of the words of Leslie's third line: they underline in and the æ of ælda to signify that these are damaged letters which are not to be established beyond all doubt from the manuscript.[4]

The legible text from l Nu to wille makes a complete verse-line of normal metrical type, and so Leslie's assumption that the first word in the lacuna was also the first word of verse-line 2 is secure. But it is also clear from the meaning that verse 2a contained a continuation of the sentence begun in 1, and the question arises of where this sentence ends. If one takes verse 2b as part of the same clause as 2a (as those scholars evidently do who place no punctuation after treocyn[-]),[5] it must, I think, be assumed that verse 2a contained an unstressed conjunction at its beginning.[6] But in this case, there is a difficulty about 2b ic. Tudre is clearly the head-stave of the line, forming the first stressed element of 2b; and so it follows that the preceding ic is unstressed. But according to the rule ("Kuhn's law of particles") which governs the relationship between stress and position of personal pronouns (amongst other parts of speech) in verse-clauses, unstressed ic ought to occur in the first dip of the clause, which would in this case be at the beginning of 2a.[7] And so the available evidence seems to point to 2b ic as introducing a new clause which must, given the context, also be a new sentence, as Leslie's text indicates.

This question of the punctuation and meaning of the first two lines of *HM* has been drawn into the controversy over the identity of the speaker. Greenfield, followed by Anderson, notes that the editorial omission of punctuation after treocyn(-), with its implication that 2b is part of the same clause as this word, accords with the interpretation of the speaker as a personified wooden object, particularly a rune-staff;[8] and it is true that treocyn(-) would probably have to be taken in this case as referring in some way to the ic of lines 1 and 2. But that Leslie's punctuation (in all probability the right one) necessarily implies a human speaker, as Greenfield seems to suggest, cannot be demonstrated from the text as we have it.

Several of the letters at the beginning of verse-line 3 are, as we have mentioned, not clear in the manuscript. Professor Pope has recently made an important contribution to our understanding of the poem by his re-examination of line 3's initial word in the manuscript, Leslie's in.[9] He concludes that what remains of the letter which previous transcribers have read as n looks more like the top of the runic letter wynn. Thus he reads iw, "yew" here; and if he is right, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the speaker is indeed the rune-staff, here referring unmistakably to its own substance. But as iw can probably never be established with certainty as the scribe's intended word, it is still necessary to consider the various stated objections to the rune-staff theory which have arisen largely from undamaged parts of the text; and to these we now turn.

Leslie, in his edition, distinguished four main objections to the rune-staff theory, some of which have been criticized since by

Anderson.[10] These are considered in turn below. As most of them can best be answered in the context of the general interpretation of *HM* which I shall attempt later, I restrict discussion here to the nature and strength of each objection, and to such parallels in Old English verse as have a possible bearing on their validity.

Leslie's first objection is that the speaker has made frequent voyages (6), which behaviour is "not reconcilable with a particular rune-stave". Anderson, Greenfield and Goldsmith all accept this objection as valid.[11] It is certainly true that the "life" of a rune-staff as a usable object would be limited. But we may note that in the Exeter Book *Riddles*, objects with a similarly brief life among men, when personified, sometimes lay claim to a breadth of experience impossible for an individual example. One practical justification for this licence is that the experience of a single example of the riddle's solution is too limited to enable the solver to identify it. But a more important justification lies in the nature of the solution, which is generic rather than particular. Thus the solution to *Riddle* 65, quoted here as the best example of this type of riddle, is properly "The Onion" rather than "An Onion":

> Cwico wæs ic, ne cwæð ic wiht, cwele ic efne seþeah.
> Ær ic wæs, eft ic cwom. Æghwa mec reafað,
> hafað mec on headre, ond min heafod scireþ,
> biteð mec on bær lic, briceð mine wisan.
> Monnan ic ne bite, nympþe he me bite;
> sindan þara monige þe mec bitað.

(I was alive and did not speak; all the same I die.
I have existed before and have come again. Everybody despoils me,
keeps me in confinement and shears my head,
bites into my naked body, and breaks my stalk.
I do not bite a man unless he bite me.
Those who bite me are many.[12])

Riddle 11 "Beaker of Wine" provides (if this solution is correct) a second example. The possibility that the speaker in *HM* is also generic in this sense will be considered further below.

Leslie's second objection is that the clause se þisne beam agrof (13b) suggests that speaker and staff are not one and the same. Greenfield suggests that "comparison with certain riddles" might reduce the force of this objection, but that in the light of this and the later verse 31b (see p.46 below), the rune-staff theory "seems strained".[13] Anderson seeks to remove the objection by reference to a particular riddle - the Exeter Book *Riddle* 35 - and to *The Dream of the Rood*.[14] The first of these texts is of questionable value for his purpose, however. *Riddle* 35 is one version of an English translation of Aldhelm's Latin riddle *De Lorica*; the *Leiden Riddle*, written in Northumbrian OE, is another. The *Leiden Riddle* translates the Latin quite closely, whereas *Riddle* 35 "omits the last two lines as found in the *Leiden Riddle* (corresponding to the last line of the Latin text), replacing them with a standard riddle formula, 'Saga soðcwidum . . . hwæt þis gewæde sy' ".[15] It seems possible that in these final lines we hear, not the personified

mailcoat, but the voice of the translator who, his riddle complete, invites a solution from the reader. *The Dream of the Rood* contains references by the cross to itself by its own name, in 40 gestah he on gealgan heanne, and 56 Crist wæs on rode, both verses being represented in the Ruthwell Cross inscription as well as in the Vercelli Book text.[16] *HM* 13b is certainly comparable with these verses from the *Dream*, though I shall argue below (p.48) that there may be a special justification for the speaker's naming of itself in this fashion in *HM*.

Leslie's third objection is that expressions used by the speaker of his master (7 mondryhten min, 10 mines frean, 39 min wine) "indicate a lord and retainer relationship with which the limited and temporary nature of a rune-stave appears incompatible" - an objection echoed by Greenfield who would nonetheless allow that all three expressions are "susceptible of a personification interpretation".[17] Anderson, by way of reply, points to *Beowulf* 457 and 530 as examples of wine used between men in purely temporary relationships.[18] He does not discuss the other two expressions because they occur in a part of the poem (1-12) which he would assign to a human messenger who brings the rune-staff to the woman in the poem. But in any case this would seem to be the weakest of Leslie's objections. It is surely pedantic to insist that the convention whereby an artefact may refer to its user as lord or master is appropriate only if the duration of the object's usefulness corresponds with that of a human servant. And it may be noted that in the Exeter Book *Riddles*, frea (cf. *HM* 10) is by far the commonest title given by manufactured objects to their users or owners (*Riddles* 20.2, 24; 44.2; 62.2; 73.8; 91.6; 93.1; 17.5 freo is probably an error for frea). The word mondryhten does not occur in the same kind of context (though dryhtne in *Riddle* 58.6 is emended by some editors to mondryhtne for metrical reasons).

The fourth and final objection which Leslie raised to the rune-staff theory is that the verb sægde in 31 þæsþe he me sægde is "much more appropriate to a human messenger than to a rune-stave whose function is essentially the conveyance of a written message". Greenfield, as we have seen, agrees. Anderson cites *Riddle* 60.9, where "the *verbum dicendi sprecan* is used to suggest the conveyance of a written message".[19] However, if it is accepted, with Anderson, Leslie and others, that the speaker in this *Riddle* is a reed made into a pen, the analogy is not at all close. For in *HM*, sægde would have to be taken as a metaphorical expression for the carving of the runes on the staff by the human inscriber, whereas in *Riddle* 60 it is the pen itself, not the human writer, which apparently "speaks" by writing. Anderson's second parallel, *Riddle* 48.4, where cweðan "suggests the conveyance of a message apparently engraved on a Chrismal or chalice"[20] is similarly inexact.

It was emphasized above (p. 45) that satisfactory replies to Leslie's objections to the rune-staff theory depend on a fresh interpretation of *HM* as a whole. And so I now return to the poem's opening. Some editorial problems connected with the first two lines formed the starting-point of this investigation. Other problems in them remain. Elliott, followed by Goldsmith, thinks that the use of

Nu and onsundran in 1 "points stylistically to an obvious connection with what immediately precedes", that is, with *Riddle* 60.[21] But Nu, "Now", is open to a different interpretation. The most appropriate time for a personified rune-staff to speak would be on its receipt as a message. Here we may take it that its tongue, so to speak, is loosened the moment the woman's eyes fall on the runes; hence "Now". There is reason to suppose that the brief message contained in the runes is impenetrable to all but her;[22] thus onsundran, which can mean "especially" in OE, may be taken as a sign that the staff may speak only to her.[23]

The suggestion that the woman's perception of the runes releases the power of speech in the staff brings us to the nature of the speech itself. How is it possible for the staff to speak to the woman beyond its runic message? There are two ways in which this might be explained in terms of its personification. First, there is no reason why a text should not itself be personified so that it may say something about, for example, whò wrote it; and this is what happens in the *Metrical Preface to the Pastoral Care*, in which the text (1 Þis ærendgewrit) speaks in words independent of Gregory's message. We may also note here the speaker's reference to itself as if to a separate object. Second, the runic message is brief - so brief that it seems possible that it is little more than a pre-arranged signal whereby the man may tell the woman that all is well and that she should join him.[24] It is noticeable that the speech contains nothing which the woman could not know or reasonably surmise on this basis; nothing, in particular, about the man's experiences since his exile (36b-40a, 45b-47) which is specific enough to force us to assign it to a human messenger who has recently spoken with his lord. And so the speech may be, not so much an expansion of the runic message, but more an expression of what it was meant to imply to the recipient. More will be said about this possibility below.

Not all of the speech, however, can be accounted for in this way. The portions of lines 1-8a which remain are sufficient to suggest that the speaker here says something of his origins and of his previous travels by sea; and 8b-9a may perhaps imply that the speaker's present mission is in some ways typical of his usual work. The speaker's account of his origins in 2b is in a sense natural enough if the speaker is a rune-staff. Such an object is not a disembodied message but a manufactured, material thing which could, like the personified tools and weapons in the Exeter Book *Riddles*, be invested with an elaborate "personal" history. However, if the speaker is a staff, why does it feel the need to identify itself at all? We can assume that the woman would be in no doubt about the general nature of the object delivered to her. But there is no explicit reference as far as we can tell, to a rune-staff until 13b se Þisne beam agrof. Does the rune-staff theory, then, involve the assumption that lines 1-8a represent the poet's clumsy device for providing the reader with vital information about the speaker which the woman herself, ostensibly addressed here, would have no need of?

A possible answer to this question lies in verse 2b. The range of meaning of tudor in OE means that we may translate this verse either as "I grew up from a child" or as "I grew up from a shoot",

depending on how we envisage the speaker. Goldsmith suggests that "the poet is being deliberately enigmatic" by "choosing a word (tudor) which might fit either a plant or a human being".[25] This in turn suggests the possibility that the poet is consistently enigmatic about the speaker's nature. But this is unlikely in view of the probable reading iw, "yew", in line 3 (see above, p. 44). It is difficult to see how the sequence: iw mec could, in the context, be any other than a clear reference by the speaker to its own material nature. And so a sustained attempt to puzzle the audience in the manner of a riddle can probably be ruled out. Yet the ambiguity of tudre is striking enough to suggest another, related hypothesis: that the poet, though from the first quite unmysterious about the inanimate nature of his speaker, is for some reason pushing the figure of prosopopoeia to the limit by realizing the personification of the object in every way open to him.

A useful preliminary measure of the possibility of reading *HM* in this way is the degree to which the force of Leslie's objections to the rune-staff theory is reduced by it; for these objections are grounded in passages which, to Leslie and others, particularly suggest the idea of a human speaker. If we can accept, for the sake of argument, that the poet is anxious to exploit every available point of similarity between the rune-staff and the persona most readily suggested by its function - that of a human messenger - then the speaker's description of his frequent travels (Leslie's first objection) which line 6 seems to represent is certainly consistent with his aim. As to the question of similarity, it seems possible that the degree to which the poet cheats here - that is, by presenting a particular rune-staff as participating in the general experience of its kind - might have been regarded by poet and audience alike as fair play in accordance with an accepted riddle convention, exemplified by the *Riddles* cited above in this connection (p. 45), whereby an object, though as an individual quickly consumed in the natural run of things, becomes heir, once personified, to the accumulated experience of its predecessors.[26] Some support for this view may exist in *The Dream of the Rood* 87-8: "Iu ic wæs geworden wita heardost, / leodum laðost", in which it appears that the true cross arrogates to itself the experience of other, earlier crosses used as gallows. Leslie's second objection, based on 13b se þisne beam agrof, is criticized by Anderson, as we have noted (above, p. 45); and it could also be argued that the composite nature of a rune-staff means that it may, as a message, legitimately speak of its own material substance as something distinct, just as a man may speak of his own body. But here, if the speaker is personified as a messenger, there is an evocation of just such a human character showing the staff to the woman. Leslie's third objection, to the speaker's use of words meaning "lord" of its master, was, as we have argued, always the weakest of the four. We need only note the appropriateness of the *Riddle* parallels already cited if the theory of deliberate elaboration of the staff's personification as a messenger is entertained. The verse which forms the basis of Leslie's fourth objection, 31b þæsþe he me sægde, similarly presents little difficulty. It certainly suggests a human messenger as speaker if read in isolation; but here the staff may be taken as speaking metaphorically: the aspect of its nature which enables it to "speak" to the woman (1 secgan)

also justifies its presentation of the carving of runes upon it as *oratio obliqua*.

It is now possible to say something about the methods whereby this double characterization of the speaker, which I have suggested is the poet's conscious aim, is achieved. The main technique is obviously ambiguity, particularly the kind of stylized ambiguity best exemplified elsewhere in the Exeter Book *Riddles*. To give an example, the word frea, "lord", is ambiguous in OE only as an element of an enigmatic personification of an object, where it refers obliquely to its owner, user or maker. In this connection we should also notice *HM* 2 Ic . . . aweox, which is reminiscent of the openings of *Riddles* 73 "Spear" (1 Ic on wonge aweox) and 88 "Antler" (1 Ic weox þær ic . . .). Perhaps the unique compound ceolþele (9) should be mentioned here. Leslie's gloss is "ship", though the analogy with, for example, wægþel, "wave-plank", hence "ship", is not exact. A better parallel is *Finnsburh Fragment* 30 buruhþelu, "castle-floor", literally "castle-plank", which suggests that ceolþele means "ship-plank", so referring to a part of a ship in which a passenger as well as cargo might be carried.[27]

It is necessary at this point to confront the difficult passage 49-51, which incorporates the uncertain manuscript form genyre/gehyre (50) and the runes themselves (50-51). Unlike *HM* 1-2, but like line 3, these lines are crucial for the question of whether the speaker is the staff or a messenger. Since Kaske's examination of the manuscript under ultra-violet light suggested that genyre, rather than gehyre, is the scribe's form, Goldsmith has re-examined the manuscript and concluded that gehyre is "not positively ruled out" as the true reading.[28] Those who prefer genyre have differed over the meaning of such a word in the context. Kaske's own translation, "constrain" (in the sense of "exhort" rather than "constrict") is, as Greenfield points out, unattested elsewhere in OE as a meaning of genirwan, the verb of which genyre is taken to be the first person singular, present indicative.[29] Greenfield also notes that the commonest sense of genirwan is "crowd together" or "contract", which in his opinion "fits the context beautifully if the runic letters are incised on a piece of wood". His interpretation is that the "probable human speaker is climactically showing his rune-stave and explaining its import to the princess he is addressing". However, as Anderson has shown, that the woman has already seen the staff is indicated by 13b se þisne beam agrof,[30] and genirwan would be a peculiar choice of verb in this case. But in any case it seems incredible that an actual messenger should name the runes to the woman: the whole point of sending a staff is surely that the woman should make something of the runes herself. Anderson, in his second article on the poem, attempts to support the speaker-as-messenger theory of which he had been so critical in his first by taking genyre . . . ætsomne ofer as a phrasal verb meaning "superimpose"; but there is no support for this meaning of genirwan ofer elsewhere in OE, and it seems likely even that line 49, beginning Ofer, does not begin a sentence continued by lines 50-51, but is rather the end of the sentence beginning with 44b Nu.[31] A further point against genyre in any sense is that 51 benemnan, if governed by it, would probably have to be taken as an infinitive of purpose: "I crowd together (the runes) in order

to declare". Though this is good modern English, there seem to have been limits on the type of verb which could introduce such an infinitive construction in OE; and in verse we find only verbs of motion and sellan.[32]

Genyre, then, is questionable on grounds of sense and syntax. With gehyre, the word which some scholars read in the manuscript, there is no problem with benemnan, for the construction can be taken as accusative-with-infinitive of a type well-exemplified in OE,[33] and paralleled in *HM* 22-3 "siþþan þu gehyrde . . . galan geomorne geac on bearwe". But if the speaker is human, in what sense might he be said to "hear" the runic message? If it were carved on the staff, there would be no reason to entrust it orally to the bearer. However, if the speaker is the staff itself, "hear" makes sense as a metaphorical reference, like 31 þæsþe he me sægde, to the original act of inscription. The present tense of gehyre has never been adequately explained; but it is explicable as a perfective use of the present.[34]

It seems to be generally accepted now that the runes in 50-51 do not together spell a word or name, but that they are to be read in groups as their names. The first and second runes are separated from the later three by the word geador, "together", and are accordingly to be joined as sigel-rad, "sun-path", i.e. "sky"; the third and fourth runes, separated from the fifth by ond, "and", together give ear-wynn, probably "lovely earth"; the fifth rune means mon, "man". The variety of constructions which has been placed on this basic interpretation makes it unlikely that the runes can provide a safe basis for a general interpretation of *HM*. For the present interpretation, a good deal of their importance lies in their very presence in what is plainly meant to be read as a speech. I have already touched on the absurdity of an image of an actual messenger naming the runes to the woman (above, p. 49): we do not expect the postman to read our letters out to us on the doorstep. A personified rune-staff, on the other hand, may, and perhaps, logically, must, pronounce the runes carved on it as something it has "heard" by word of mouth. It is tempting to suggest that there is a rather abstruse conceit here, based on the paradox of speaking in what is essentially a literary mode. That runes in verse were intended to be named is shown, here and elsewhere, by the fact that the verses in which they appear cannot otherwise be scanned; but in a poetry clearly meant to be read aloud, this is inevitable. The danger, of course, must always have been that the runes would be misunderstood as standing merely for the words by which they were named, and so disappear from the text. In the Exeter Book *Riddles* 42 and 58, the names of the runes have in fact been written out, though context ensures that they are understood as runes, here used to spell the solution of the riddles. Cynewulf may well have felt that there was a danger of his signature disappearing by accident from his own works: in *The Fates of the Apostles* 96-8 he deliberately alerts the audience to the puzzle he is about to set them - a sign, surely, of awareness that recognition of the true nature of runes depends upon the creation of a "silent" visual image in the mind of the hearer. Whatever the poet of *HM* had in mind, there is certainly a very marked contrast between the poetic eloquence of the naturally dumb staff, developed to a point where the audience sometimes

finds itself envisaging a human envoy, and the terseness - one might say, the taciturnity - of the text it bears.[35]

Critics have identified a number of themes and ideas connected with the relationship between the two human characters in *HM*: fidelity, combined with a slight note of uncertainty on the man's part about the continuing strength, for the woman, of their old promises; and the desolation of past separation and exile reviewed in the light of present prosperity and the hope of reunification. On some of these, the poem's usual classification as "elegy" rests.[36] But the interpretation advanced here does not tend to relegate these aspects of the poem to the position of ornamental detail. On the contrary, the rune-staff's eloquence, though almost incredible initially, when the runic passage climactically reveals to the reader the brevity of its text, becomes, in retrospect, a witness to the strength and intimacy of the relationship which its arrival confirms and advances. I have already mentioned the possibility of viewing the speech as a reflection of what is implied by the runic message and the fact of its being sent (p. 47). Two passages will illustrate this. The woman has no need to be told of her lover that "Hine fæhþo adraf / of sigeþeode" (19b-20a); she will already know it well enough. But it is inevitable that her mind should revert to this time of separation and loss as she gazes at the staff. Her lover's point of view seems to be reflected in 24-5: "Ne læt þu siþþan siþes getwæfan, / lade gelettan, lifgendne monn"; the sense of urgency is unmistakably his, but is in any case implicit in the very sending of the staff. The speech may be read as being in the nature of what usually exists between the lines of a brief letter or postcard between old friends or lovers.[37]

It will be clear that the interpretation offered here implies a closer relationship between *HM* and the riddle genre than most recent critics have been willing to allow. But it is scarcely surprising that the old view that *HM* is itself a riddle has found no recent champion.[38] A riddle merely disguises its solution with a veil of personification which the solver is invited, though not always explicitly, to penetrate. But in *HM*, according to the present interpretation, the equivalent of a riddle's solution is not, apparently, disguised, while the personification of the object is developed to such a point as to suggest almost supernatural powers of communication in the staff and its runes - powers which mirror the firmness of the bond (12 tirfæste treowe) between sender and recipient which reaches ofer heah h[a]fu (8) and is unweakened by feud, exile and time. No source or close analogue for *HM* has yet come to light, and so the history of the poem's form is a matter for speculation. It is perhaps worth noting a tendency, in certain of the OE *Riddles* in which the speaker is a personified object, to elaborate the presentation of the persona beyond the requirements of the solver. A good example is *Riddle 93* "Inkhorn", in which the object, personified as a warrior, presents its carving by man as a brutal attack (18 bennade, 24 biton) with weapons (17-18 isern . . . brun, 20 stiðecg style) which the bloodless warrior (18 blod ut ne com) endures heroically (20b-21a No ic þa stunde bemearn, / ne for wunde weop), though revenge is denied him (21b-22 ne wrecan meahte / on wigan feore wonnsceaft mine). The effect here is that

concentration on the problem of solution wavers as one becomes absorbed in the dramatic situation of the persona, as if the speaker were human. It seems possible that the *HM* poet drew some inspiration from this kind of effect in riddles to put the enigmatic style to a fresh and memorable purpose.[39]

NOTES

1 The facsimile edition of the entire manuscript is *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* (London, 1933); *The Husband's Message* is on f.123. Facsimiles of f.123 are also available in *Three Old English Elegies*, ed. R.F. Leslie (Manchester, 1961; rep. 1966), frontispiece (recto only) and John C. Pope, "Palaeography and poetry: some solved and unsolved problems of the Exeter Book", in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker*, ed. M.B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), pp.25-65, esp. 46-7, 50-51.

2 Notably by Joseph Strobl, "Zur Spruchdichtung bei den Angelsachsen", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur* 31 (1887), 54-64, esp. 55-6; F.A. Blackburn, "*The Husband's Message* and the Accompanying Riddles of the Exeter Book", *JEGP* 3 (1901), 1-13; Ralph W.V. Elliott, "The Runes in *The Husband's Message*", *JEGP* 54 (1955), 1-8; A.C. Bouman, *Patterns in Old English and Old Icelandic Literature* (Leiden, 1962), pp.61-72; R.E. Kaske, "A Poem of the Cross in the Exeter Book; *Riddle 60* and *The Husband's Message*", *Traditio* 23 (1967), 41-71; Margaret E. Goldsmith, "The Enigma of *The Husband's Message*", in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation. For John C. McGalliard*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores W. Frese (Notre Dame and London, 1975), pp.242-63; Pope, "Palaeography and poetry", esp. 54-63. The case for taking *Riddle* 60 and *HM* as separate poems is put by R.F. Leslie, "The Integrity of Riddle 60", *JEGP* 67 (1968), 451-7; F.H. Whitman, "Riddle 60 and its Source", *PQ* 50 (1971), 108-15; and Stanley B. Greenfield, *The Interpretation of Old English Poems* (Boston and London, 1972), pp.152-3.

3 See *The Exeter Book*, ed. G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, III (New York, 1936), pp.lix-lx; R.F. Leslie, ed., p.13. References to *HM* are to Leslie's edition; references to other OE poems are to Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book* or other A.S.P.R. volumes and, in the case of *Beowulf*, to Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950), unless otherwise stated.

4 *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, p.75. On Pope's reading of <u>iw</u> in 3 instead of <u>in</u>, see below.

5 Krapp and Dobbie, p.225; Bouman, p.61; W.F. Bolton, *An Old English Anthology* (London, 1963), pp.38-40; Kaske, "A Poem of the Cross", 42; James P. Holoka, "The Oral Formula and Anglo-Saxon Elegy: Some Misgivings", *Neophilologus* 60 (1976), 570-76, esp. 574; Pope, "Palaeography and poetry", p.57.

6 Pope ("Palaeography and poetry", p.45) rules out any word beginning with a letter with ascender immediately after l <u>wille</u>: "Enough parchment remains where the first letter would have occurred to have preserved the upper portion of <u>þ</u>, <u>b</u>, <u>h</u> or <u>l</u>"; see further footnote 7 below.

7 See Hans Kuhn, "Zur Wortstellung und -Betonung im Altgermanischen", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 57 (1932), 1-101, esp. 4-5, 8. *HM*'s first line conveniently illustrates the law's operation on personal pronouns. The subject <u>ic</u> falls in the first metrical dip of the clause and is duly unstressed; whereas the indirect object <u>þe</u>, displaced as it is from the first dip, bears full metrical stress in a verse of Sievers' type B. Pope's attempt to join 2a and 2b as a single clause casts doubt on his suggested restoration of 2a as [<u>of hwylcum</u>] <u>treocyn</u>[<u>ne</u>] ("Palaeography and poetry", pp.45, 48). His rejection of Mackie's suggestion: [<u>ymb þisum</u>] <u>treocyn</u>[<u>ne</u>] on grammatical grounds (<u>ymb</u>, "about", normally governing the accusative, not the dative) is justified, however, and one might add that the Exeter Book scribe

always writes þissum (abbreviated as þissū only in *Wife's Lament* 41), never þisum. But Pope's objection to ic tudre aweox as a self-contained clause ("as mindlessly self-evident a statement as can well be imagined" is his comment) ignores the possible ambiguity of tudre, on which see pp.47-8 below. Although one may doubt the wisdom of supplying conjectural restorations to lacunae in a text of *HM*'s difficulty, those who believe the gaps can be filled without prejudicing interpretation might consider the possibility of fram (with "low" first graph; see note 6 above), "about", "concerning", as the first word of 2a. It governs the dative, and is common with secgan; see T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898), s.v. fram, II; Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Supplement* (Oxford, 1921; rep. with revisions, 1972), s.v. fram, I (18).

8 Greenfield, p.150; Earl R. Anderson, "*The Husband's Message*: Persuasion and the Problem of genyre", *ES* 56 (1975), 289-94, esp. 292.

9 Pope, "Palaeography and poetry", pp.44-5. Pope's attempt to read *Riddle* 60, 1-7a as a yew-tree's description of its own early life (pp.54-5) places considerable strain on the text. The indications that the speaker here is a semi-aquatic plant (rather than a tree growing on a ness or island, as Pope would have it) are probably too strong to be dismissed.

10 Leslie, ed., pp.13-15; Anderson, "Voices in *The Husband's Message*", *NM* 74 (1973), 238-46.

11 Anderson, "Voices", 242; "Persuasion", 292; Greenfield, p.150; Goldsmith, p.248. Goldsmith believes that the speaker is a pen which "'voyages' whenever writings done at his lord's command are disseminated across the world".

12 Translation from *The Exeter Book*, Part II, ed. W.S. Mackie, EETS, OS 194 (1934), p.205.

13 Greenfield, p.150.

14 "Voices", 243; Pope, p.52, also refers to *The Dream of the Rood* in this connection.

15 *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. E.V.K. Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, VI (New York, 1942), p.cviii.

16 See *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. Michael Swanton (Manchester, 1970), pp.90 and 92.

17 Greenfield, p.151.

18 "Voices", 243; see also Goldsmith, p.248.

19 *Loc. cit.*

20 *Loc. cit.*

21 Elliott, p.2; Goldsmith, p.243.

22 See below, p.50.

23 Toller, *Dictionary*, s.v. onsundrum, III. This meaning occurs only once

(in the Blickling Homilies). Toller's meaning II, "in retirement from others", "apart" is also possible here; for whether or not the woman is literally alone as she reads the runes, her wooden messenger's speech is in the nature of a private communication.

24 A suggestion made by Blackburn, "Accompanying Riddles", 3, and echoed by Elliott, "The Runes", 5.

25 Goldsmith, pp.247-8. I share Goldsmith's doubt about the possibility of taking this verse simply as the presentation of a human messenger's credentials.

26 Cf. Pope's suggestion ("Palaeography and Poetry", p.53, footnote 71) that the implication of lines 1-8 is that the speaker is a palimpsest - a substantial rune-staff from which previous inscriptions for other purposes have been planed away. Though such a practice may well have existed, it is difficult to prove in the absence of contemporary literary references to it.

27 Cf. Kaske, "A Poem of the Cross", 54-5 and footnote 36, 71.

28 R.E. Kaske, "The Reading genyre in *The Husband's Message*, line 49", *ME* 33 (1964), 204-6; Goldsmith, p.251, footnote 35.

29 Greenfield, p.152.

30 "Persuasion", 290.

31 See above, p.44 and footnote 7, and cf. Leslie, ed., note to 49. According to Kuhn's second law (*das germanische Satzspitzengesetz*, Kuhn, p.43), if a verse-clause opens with a dip, the dip must contain a sentence-particle. If 49 begins a new clause, Ofer constitutes an initial dip which contains no particle. I owe these observations to a correspondence with Professor A.J. Bliss. Krapp and Dobbie (*The Exeter Book*) print the lines in what is almost certainly their correct form, i.e. with line 50 beginning a new sentence, and 49 closing the previous one. The meaning of 49 ofer calls for reconsideration. Leslie's note records the various suggestions that have been made. Probably the only really close parallel in sense - certainly the closest in terms of the immediate verbal context - is *Beowulf* 1781, cited by Crawford (*MLR* 19 (1924), 105): "þæt ic on þone hafelan heorodreorigne / ofer eald gewin eagum starige!". Crawford, with Thorpe (*Codex Exoniensis* (1842), p.475), translates *HM*'s ofer as "after", also Klaeber's gloss of *Beowulf* 1781. In both contexts a special satisfaction attaches to the action of the verbs (*HM* 48 beneah, *Beowulf* 1781 starige) which derives from the sense of resolution of a long-unsettled issue. Though "after" is acceptable in both places, its force is not simply temporal, but emotional and retrospective as well.

32 See Hubert G. Shearin, "The Expression of Purpose in Old English Poetry", *Anglia* 32 (1909), 235-52, esp. 235-8.

33 See Jacob Zeitlin, *The Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English* (New York, 1908), Chap. III; Morgan Callaway, Jr., *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (Washington, 1913), Chap. VIII.

34 Leslie, ed., note to 50, remarks simply that "the present tense for vividness is not unusual", but gives no examples from other texts. Perhaps he had in mind such examples of formally present verbs as in *Beowulf* 290 Ic þæt gehyre and 411 secgað sæliðend, cited as perfective by E. Nader,

"Tempus und Modus im Beowulf", *Anglia* 10 (1888), 542-63, esp. 550, § 14. This use of the present tense in Modern English has been defined as expressing "the persistence in the present of the effect of a past communication" (R. Quirk, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik, *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (London, 1972), p.86) - a definition which accommodates *HM* 50 gehyre perfectly if the original act of inscription is regarded as a still-operative communication to the staff.

35 On the paradox of silent speech in *Riddles* 85 "Fish and River", 48 "Chalice" and 60 "Reed Pen", see Marie Nelson, "The Paradox of Silent Speech in the Exeter Book Riddles", *Neophilologus* 62 (1978), 609-15.

36 See, for example, S.B. Greenfield, "The Old English Elegies", in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E.G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp.142-75, esp. 169-71.

37 Elliott's view (p.8) that the speech is largely an expansion of the runic message is criticized by Leslie (ed., p.15), partly on the grounds that it makes the runes "simply a summary of what has gone before" rather than a climax. Pope ("Palaeography and poetry", p.53) takes the view, not far from my own, that the poem is "figuratively speaking, a dialogue".

38 Comparison of a letter with a messenger is widespread in riddles; see Archer Taylor, *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), p.276. The suggestion that *HM* is a riddle was made by F. Hicketier, "Klage der Frau, Botschaft des Gemahls, und Ruine", *Anglia* 11 (1889), 363-8.

39 This article has benefited considerably from criticisms and suggestions made by Dr J.M. Hill and Professor T.A. Shippey, though they should not, of course, be held responsible for the views it contains.

THE SOLDIER OF CHRIST IN OLD ENGLISH PROSE AND POETRY

By JOYCE HILL

A recent article by Claude Schneider began with a useful summary of the assumptions that lie behind much of the criticism of Old English Christian poetry:

> A not infrequent observation in criticism about Old English Christian poems holds that a body of diction which was inherited from a Germanic, military and heroic past forced the poets to describe Christian characters inappropriately in terms belonging to the ideals of a warrior society.[1]

The truth of Schneider's summary is borne out by Derek Pearsall's survey of Old and Middle English poetry published a year earlier:

> The adaptation of traditional verse-form, style and vocabulary to religious purposes involved the transfer of a good deal of military terminology, since most heroic poetry dealt with battles . . . . . Clearly, such language would often be inappropriate, when the poet was speaking of battles, even of metaphorical battles against the forces of darkness: even Bede can speak of Cuthbert as 'the soldier of Christ.'[2]

It is true that Pearsall goes on to say that the retention of traditional poetic vocabulary and style does not mean that the controlling ethic is Germanic, but he is acutely aware of "a strong residual heroic quality in the vocabulary and in the handling of certain themes" (p.28) and of what he believes to be the poets' attempts "to fulfil the potential of the heroic style by diverting it from useless fictions to profitable truths" (p.28).

Such assumptions arise from the critic's highly developed sense of the conservative nature of Old English poetic diction which includes the persistence of certain items of vocabulary particularly from the battle language of the heroic tradition. If, however, awareness of the strength of the heroic battle tradition in Old English were matched by an equal awareness of the strength of the image of the saint as *miles Christi*, the critic might recognize more easily that we do not always have in poetic hagiography a simple redeployment of traditional poetic diction, with its traditional, heroic connotations often inappropriate to the Christian matter

being presented, but an informed response to the Christian warrior metaphor, in which the poet may be both explicit about his aims and selective in his use of battle vocabulary.

The first part of this paper, therefore, will attempt to define the Christian metaphor as known in Anglo-Saxon England by surveying the use, nature and presentation of the *miles Christi* imagery in Old English prose; the second will reconsider *Guðlac A* and *Juliana* and, for purposes of contrast, *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* in the light of this tradition. Much of the extant prose post-dates the poetry and so cannot be used as direct commentary on it, but it can appropriately be used to define the general tradition available to Christian poets, since it closely reflects that found in patristic and Anglo-Latin writings. There is the important additional advantage in defining the *miles Christi* imagery through its vernacular expression of seeing what details and even, at times, what vocabulary were favoured by those who were using the imagery for people whose linguistic and cultural assumptions must have been similar to those shared by the people who enjoyed poetic hagiography.

PROSE

1. The monk as *miles Christi*.

From the early Christian era the imagery of warfare was used for the ordained members of the church.[3] It is not surprising, therefore, that from the beginnings of formalized monasticism we find the imagery of warfare being used for monks, who were also especially committed members of the spiritual community.[4] The prologue to the *Benedictine Rule*, in explaining the nature of the monastic life, does so partly through the image of the armed soldier of the Lord:

> Ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo dirigitur, quisquis abrenuntians propriis uoluntatibus domino Christo uero regi militaturus oboedientiae fortissima atque praeclara arma sumis.[5]
>
> Ergo praeparanda sunt corda et corpora nostra sanctae praeceptorum oboedientiae militanda. Et quod minus habet in nos natura possibile, rogemus dominum, ut gratiae suae iuueat nobis adiutorium ministrare. (pp.7-8)

When a novice was admitted, the Rule was to be read to him and the following words were to be said in conclusion:

> Ecce lex, sub qua militare uis; si potes obseruare, ingredere, si uero non potes, liber discede. (p.134)

The cloistered monk is conceived of as fighting within the community under the guidance of the Rule and the abbot (p.17). An anchorite, however, having learnt how to resist the devil, may leave the battle line and face single combat, "ex acie ad singularem pugnam" (p.17), defending himself with his own arm and God's help against the sins

of body and soul. For the more usual monastic *miles* who remains within the community, the weapons to be used are the arms of obedience.

Mohrmann[6] and Manning[7] have shown the extent to which this ideal of monastic military service differed from the secular and from the concept of the more active *miles Christi* fighting incarnate demons, which is characteristic of the eremitic life. By the time of Sulpicius Severus (*c.*360-*c.*420), *militia* had become a technical term for monasticism and the military terminology in this context underwent a semantic shift so that *militare* was equivalent to *servire* and military service was performed through obedience to the commands of the Rule and the abbot. Mohrmann believes that Benedict was able to use the military vocabulary in this sense because in the secular world its exclusively warlike connotations had partly been eroded owing to its use to designate civil service in the imperial palace, as well as straightforward army service.

The Old English interlinear gloss[8] exactly observes this semantic shift by giving "efne her is under þære þeowian þu wilt" for "ecce lex, sub qua *militare* uis" (Logeman, p.96, my italics). Elsewhere *militare* is glossed by campian: *militaturus*, to campienne (Logeman, p.1); *militanda*, to campiende (Logeman, p.5); *militans*, campiende (Logeman, p.9); *militatur*, si gecampod (Logeman, p.102).[9] The Old English prose translation of the Rule uses campian once[10] and twice, where the syntactical structure differs, uses gecamp (Schröer, pp. 5, 9). In translating the opening sentences of the prologue, however, where the battle imagery occurs for the first time, the translator, whilst keeping close to the Latin in giving wæpnum for *arma*, and hyrsumnesse for *oboedientiae*, does not translate *militaturus*, but paraphrases its essential meaning in the context by a further reference to obedience (Schröer, p.1). Similarly elsewhere *militatur* is interpreted as is . . . geþeowad and gehyrsumod (Schröer, p.111) and *seruitutis militiam* by þeowdom (Schröer, p.23).

Thus, at least within the context of the *Benedictine Rule*, the transferred sense of *militare* was thoroughly understood in England in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries[11] by translator and glossator alike, and it may be significant that, where they do not give direct expression to the transferred sense, by using þeowian, hyrsumian or þeowdom, they independently choose, from the range of "fighting" words in Old English, campian and gecamp as suitable vernacular equivalents of *militare*,[12] a preference that we find in a great many uses of the *miles Christi* image in Old English prose.

The metaphor is developed extensively in commentaries on the Rule, where attention is focused, not on organizational matters, as it often is in the Rule itself, but on the nature of the religious life in the spiritual sense. One of these commentaries, the so-called *Hexameron of St. Basil*, was translated into Old English by Ælfric[13] and contains in its prologue, which has no parallel in the Latin, the image of the monks as "Cristes þegnas campiende wiþ deoflu dæges and nihtes" (p.32).[14] The fullest development of the image comes in the second chapter (pp.34-38) where the translator follows his Latin text closely in presenting the traditional

comparison between the soldiers of Christ and the soldiers of an earthly king. Obedience is emphasized as the common factor, but their warfare is fundamentally different both in the weapons with which they fight and in the rewards that they win. Cempa and campian regularly translate *miles* and *militare* and in both the Latin and the Old English texts, the same words are used for spiritual and secular states in order to sharpen the contrasts that are so carefully presented in balanced, alternating statements.

One can compare with this the similar contrast between spiritual and physical warfare carefully developed by Ælfric in the lesson that he draws for the benefit of Benedictines from the story of the Maccabees,[15] although there were occasions where one of the few similarities between the two kinds of warfare provided a useful argument by analogy. Ælfric tells of a soldier (woruldcempa) who, after becoming a monk, longed to be reunited with his wife, now a nun. He asked St Martin's permission and was refused on the grounds that women do not go into battle with their menfolk,[16] an analogical argument used also in the Rule of Chrodegang[17] to justify priestly celibacy.

2. The martyr as *miles*.

Another extreme manifestation of Christian commitment is that of the martyr[18] and here too we find Old English prose writers following Latin models in presenting the martyr in military terms which, in the Christian context, describe behaviour diametrically opposed to what, in other contexts, would be suggested by the use of these same words. In the monastic context, the military vocabulary denotes "service" and "obedience"; in the context of martyrdom it is "suffering". The semantic shift in either case is dramatic, but just as it causes no difficulty in Latin, so it seems to cause no difficulty or confusion in Old English prose. The frequent brevity of Ælfric's allusions to the military metaphor in his accounts of martyrs both in his *Catholic Homilies* and in his *Lives of Saints* indicates on his part an automatic association, which he also evidently expected his audience to share. It must be remembered, of course, as we consider the examples, that martyrdom was not narrowly defined. A holy man might earn the title of "martyr" if he dies a natural death, as in Guðlac's case, and be called "a soldier of Christ" without ever having confronted a physical enemy or been tortured or killed for the faith:

> Witodlice ðurh geðyld we magon beon martiras. þeah ðe we on sibbe godes gelaðunge ure lif geendion.[19]

It is nevertheless true that a high proportion of the saints are martyrs in the narrower sense, and it is revealing that these Christian heroes earn from Ælfric the title of "God's warrior" at the moment when he tells of their suffering and death. Their resistance is physically passive; the endurance of suffering brought about by their fidelity to God and their very willing acceptance of death is what gives these warriors their victory:

> Witodlice ðes halga cyðere [*sc.* Stephen]. and his æftergengan wæron gewitan þyses geleafan. and ðisum geleafan hi cyddon gecyðnysse oferswiðende þisne feondlican middangeard. na ongean feohtende ac sweltende. (*Catholic Homilies*, Godden, p.16. My underlining.)

In such contexts, the military metaphor is evoked most commonly by the use of cempa (with campian and gecamp), sigefæst and sige, with gewinn occasionally being used.[20] The title Godes cempa (or cempa alone, understood by Skeat as "the Christian warrior")[21] might also be used of the saints at other stages in their lives, sometimes when they were threatened with death without actually being killed, and to designate those who, in the wider definition of martyrdom, demonstrate their faith in other ways.[22] Vercelli Homily V, in a passage commenting on the *pax Romana* at the Nativity and the apostles' preaching of the gospel of peace, nevertheless calls the apostles cempan,[23] which would be incongruous were it not that by the tenth century, and possibly earlier, cempa had obviously extended its semantic range to include a figurative sense that could be exploited by an unmistakably Christian context.

In the Old English *Martyrology*[24] campode is used, without explanation, as an expression for "was martyred":

> On þone fifteogðan dæg þæs monðes bið sancte Vites þrowung; he wæs seofon geara cniht þa he campode for Criste. (p.94)

> On þone seofonteogðan dæg þæs monðes bið þæs halgan cnihtes tid sancti Mommos; se wæs twelf wintre cniht þa he for Criste campode. (p.148)

There is further confirmation of a semantic shift for campian in the alphabetical vocabulary in the eleventh century MS BL Cotton A III,[25] where campian glosses *agonizans* (341/21) and ellencampedon oððe þrowedon glosses *agonizarunt* (342/15). The first shows clearly the equivalence between fighting and suffering that has been accommodated in campian and it is even clearer in the second example. There is no question of mistranslation since þrowedon shows that *agonizare* was properly understood. It is regrettable that we do not know the context from which *agonizare* and its glosses were drawn, but it may have been from a context that used the *miles Christi* image, possibly the account of a martyr, particularly since the only derivatives listed are also glossed as if they formed part of a *miles Christi* (martyr) image: *agonis*, 345/25: gewinnes; *agonista*, 338/2: oretmæcga; *in agonia*, 424/12: in elne.

Vernacular writers, in presenting martyrs in this way, were faithful followers of a highly developed Latin tradition that is well represented in Anglo-Latin texts as well as in the earlier patristic writings known to the English. Bede uses it,[26] it is familiar to Alcuin, who recognizes the paradox that Christians must be "milites in passione Christi",[27] and it is used by Boniface[28] and of him in descriptions of his martyrdom.[29] Willibald's account tells how

Boniface's companions arm and rush to his side when he is attacked, but this "egregius Christi miles" exhorts them to lay down their arms and to resist by being heroic in the Lord. With Albertson we may see this final act as "the Germanic *comitatus*-loyalty in stupendous reverse",[30] but Willibald's account is in fact quite independent of that tradition, as are vernacular accounts of martyrs, despite the military language employed.

3. The siege of the soul.

Presentation of the fight against sin in terms of siege warfare is easily recognized as imagery introduced into Anglo-Saxon England by the Christian Latin tradition, since siege warfare is neither a part of the traditions of heroic poetry, nor a military tactic employed by the Anglo-Saxons.[31] Gregory the Great, on the other hand, was familiar with walled cities that could withstand the frontal attack of besieging armies and that might sometimes be conquered by treachery from within, and he felt free to continue the tradition of using the besieged walled city as an image of the Christian soul resisting the attacks of the devil.[32] But for the Anglo-Saxons the image had literary force only and perhaps for this reason it is scarcely found in extant Old English prose outside the translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*,[33] a text which in fact provides few examples of the image and those far less developed than one often finds in Gregory's writings. Furthermore, in both the Latin and Old English versions of the *Cura Pastoralis*, the spiritual significance of the siege image is made explicit, so that there is no possibility of confusion.

4. Single combat against sin and the devil.

Less well defined means of presenting the Christian's fight against sin are potentially more open to misconstruction by modern readers who, often more aware of the heroic traditions of Old English poetry than of the highly developed Christian imagery of spiritual warfare, might be inclined to see the military language as a reflection of, and an appeal to the native traditions rather than to the Christian, from which they so obviously derive.[34] In fact the vernacular writers who present the fights of the Christian in terms of single combat against the devil, sin, or incarnate demons embodying the soul's temptations, are careful to make it clear that these fights are spiritual, so that there is at least an implied contrast with the physical fighting of secular warfare. This is an essential lesson of Christianity and is found in Latin texts also, but the consistency with which it is repeated in Old English removed from the Anglo-Saxons being taught, as it should also remove for us, any thought of connection with the military tradition as embodied in Old English poetry.

The two chief methods by which Anglo-Saxon prose writers signal their intentions are to emphasise the passivity of the Christian soldier's "resistance" either by giving it narrative prominence or by commenting on it directly, and to provide immediate spiritual interpretation of any details, such as weapons and items of armour, that

are used to elaborate the image.

Examples of the former occur in the *Martyrology* and in the *Dialogues*.[35] Antony, in the *Martyrology*'s brief summary (Herzfeld, pp.20-22), resists the demons passively and dispels them with the sign of the cross (although, as in the *Vita Antonii*, there is one exceptional physical incident when the saint is so violently assaulted that he is left unable to speak).[36] In the *Dialogues* Benedict "fights" se ealda feond when he destroys a grove of Apollo in order to establish a church, but the conflict is verbal and the devil, who can be overcome by prayers, flees before the victorious man of God.[37]

Models for the immediate interpretation of weapons and armour exist in the New Testament Epistles, notably Ephesians vi, 10-18, used in the Anglo-Latin accounts of the lives of Cuthbert and Guðlac[38] and in Old English by Ælfric in one of his *Catholic Homilies* (Godden, p. 123) and by an unpublished homily in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 190, p.351. Ælfric abbreviates in quoting probably from memory and in his reference to ðæs hihtes helm may have confused the *galeam salutis* of Ephesians vi, 17 with *galeam spem salutis* of I Thessalonians v, 8. The Corpus Christi homilist uses I Peter v, 8-9 alongside Ephesians vi, 14 and 17. II Corinthians vi, 7 is used in the *Pastoral Care* in the interpretation of the priest's surplice as his armour against temptation.[39] The origins of further details, notably the arrows of sin, can be traced to the psalms, where military language is common, and since it was customary to interpret the psalms in relation to the Christian life, they were understood as being rich in examples of spiritual warfare.[40] The familiar patterns of behaviour are present: the psalmist is passive, God fights on his behalf, spiritual protection is provided, and the enemies can be defeated by steadfastness of heart and trust in the Lord.

In Old English homiletic literature, arrows are the devil's weapons[41] and if not named as such, may be alluded to through a verb of shooting.[42] Vercelli Homily IV lists the sins from which arrows are made and here interpretation follows closely upon the military vocabulary, as it does also in more general statements about spiritual warfare when specific "weapons" are not mentioned.[43]

By these various means, then, writers of Christian vernacular prose so consistently modify the significance of the military language employed that, within a Christian context, it becomes a specialized, even stereotyped vocabulary, dependent for its peculiar connotations more on Christian tradition than on any native one for which some of the items of vocabulary were also inevitably used.

5. The fight against human foes.

Christians might also, on occasion, be confronted with human foes. In the early centuries of Christianity the Church had come to accept the idea of a *bellum justum*[44] and the principle was well understood in Anglo-Saxon England. The evidence has been collected by Cross[45] and there is little point in adding to his examples, particularly since the descriptions of physical battles between Christians and pagans are not properly part of a study of the *miles*

Christi metaphor.[46] It is relevant, however, to extend the discussion to include Christians' confrontations with human foes where there is either direct divine intervention or where physical battle is avoided, even if military vocabulary continues to be used. The purpose of such stories was to emphasise once again, in a particularly striking way, how much the Christian ethic differed from that of secular society.

Cross (p.280) refers to St Martin's statement, "Christi miles sum; pugnare mihi non licet", by which, paradoxically, he at once assumes the rôle of a soldier and withdraws from fighting. Ælfric uses it in his longer life of St Martin (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat II, p.226) and makes clear the difference between spiritual and physical battle in the shorter life (*Catholic Homilies*, Godden, p.289) although, in common with the Blickling life of St Martin (Morris, pp.211-17), he does not repeat Sulpicius' neat remark.

The story of another Roman soldier, Gallicanus (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat I, pp.190-92), sets up expectations of physical battle and it is therefore all the more striking that, when he advances towards the Scythian king, his enemy falls dead at his feet without a fight. The situation is closer to the concept of the spiritual *miles* than it is to the straightforward *bellum justum*, since Gallicanus, godes cempa (p.192), does not strike a blow, but is victorious through his faith in God that had been strengthened by the promises of John and Paul and the appearance of armed angels.

Other stories of confrontation with human foes have no particular justification within the narrative for the military language employed, which is thus seen to be imagery only. In this way the story is drawn firmly into the tradition of the spiritual *miles Christi* and the human opponent, however historical, assumes the rôle of being little more than the embodiment of evil that must be resisted. In the story of the Forty Soldiers, their enemies are at first the judge and the emperor, whose service they renounce, but later their adversaries are seen as the judge, the prefect and *the devil*, and in this struggle they call upon Christ for aid (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat I, pp.238-42). Military language is also used in relation to the human confrontations of Laurentius (*Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Thorpe, I, p.418) and of Marcus and Marcellianus (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat I, pp.118-22). But in both cases the fact that the enemy is human becomes insignificant. The stories conform to the pattern of the spiritual *miles* in that Laurentius is promised victory in death at the hands of the cruel king, and Marcus and Marcellianus are seen as soldiers of Christ chiefly in their resistance of the tempting pleas of non-Christians to surrender. Finally we may note Ælfric's brief introduction of military imagery in his account of the confrontation between Peter and Paul and Simon Magus (*Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Thorpe, I, p.374). There is nothing in Acts viii to suggest the imagery, which is merely a vivid way of explaining the nature of the saints' spiritual resistance.[47]

Thus, except in the particular case of the *bellum justum*, military language is employed exactly as it is in explicitly spiritual contexts, for the same purposes and with the same modification of meaning, even when the enemy is human.

POETRY

1. Guðlac A.

Guðlac is the obvious starting point for an examination of the *miles Christi* imagery in Old English poetry. Felix of Crowland's *Vita Guthlaci*, written probably in the 730's and translated into Old English in the eleventh century,[48] was modelled upon the influential *Vita Antonii*.[49] Both *vitae* externalize the anchorites' struggles with tempting thoughts as battles with incarnate demons armed with the arrows of temptation[50] and, as has been noted above (p.63), the *Vita Guthlaci* also includes a description of the arming of the Christian soldier, based ultimately on Ephesians vi, 13-17, but taken here from the *Vita Cuthberti*, another Anglo-Latin *vita* modelled upon the *Vita Antonii*. Both Anglo-Latin *vitae* follow the expected pattern of providing immediate spiritual interpretation of the military language employed in the "arming" passages, in presenting the saints' confrontations, with few exceptions, as being unambiguously spiritual, and in making it clear that the saints win by passive resistance based on trust in God.

Guðlac B, dealing mainly with Guðlac's death and therefore of less interest in the present context, is generally regarded as being based on chapter 50 of Felix's *Vita*. There is less certainty about the relationship of *Guðlac A* to Felix's work,[51] but we are undoubtedly dealing with a story where the underlying tradition is that of the *miles Christi*. It remains to be seen how the poet of *Guðlac A* responds to this tradition within the limitations of traditional Old English poetic diction. Opinions have varied. Kurtz (p.144) felt that *Guðlac A* was a poem whose essential spirit differed from the Latin hagiographic tradition:

> A militant mind, of a sort, stands behind *Guthlac A*. No Felix or Athanasius, trained to the Church ideal of humility and long-suffering, praises a patient, much enduring saint as a model for the Christian anchorite. But a mind that delights in epics of conflict and in the heroic ideal of the fighting champion, has converted Guthlac into a mighty man of action, a protagonist, said to be almost contemporary, in the supreme war of the ages.

Shook, on the other hand, argued that the resemblance to secular heroic poetry is only superficial, arising out of the inherited linguistic and stylistic features.[52]

There is no doubt that the poet of *Guðlac A* saw the story of Guðlac as the story of a *miles Christi* and that, in making this clear in his poem, he wanted the members of his audience to recognize its relevance to their own lives of resistance to temptation. The opening lines of the poem,[53] which provide a didactic prologue, draw attention to various ideals of behaviour to which the Christian should aspire, including the need to be obedient to God's commands (32-4). At the end of the prologue, and immediately before introducing Guðlac by name, the poet makes some general comments about dwellers in the wilderness, using military imagery:

Fore him englas stondað,
gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum, beoþ hyra geoca gemyndge,
healdað haligra feorh, witon hyra hyht mid dryhten.
Þæt synd þa gecostan cempan þa þam cyninge þeowað,
se næfre þa lean alegeð þam þe his lufan adreogeð.
(88-92)

Later, after describing one of Guðlac's confrontations, the poet comments approvingly:

Swa sceal oretta a in his mode
gode compian, ond his gæst beran
oft in ondan þam þe eahtan wile
sawla gehwylcre þær he gesælan mæg. (344-47)

Shortly after, he distances himself from the narrative to ask:

Hwylc wæs mara þonne se?
An oretta ussum tidum
cempa gecyðeð þæt him Crist fore
woruldlicra ma wundra gecyðde. (400-403)

He thus confirms that he sees Guðlac's life as being within the *miles Christi* tradition, as he does later in the didactic "epilogue" where, in drawing attention to what can be learnt from Guðlac's life, the poet refers to cempan gecorene, Criste leofe (797) who vanquish (oferfeohtað) the fiend and their sinful desires (803). This didactic, homiletic framework, in which the *Guðlac A* poet makes his understanding of the story explicit, appears to be original with him; it is not found in Felix, nor was it introduced by his Anglo-Saxon prose translator at the end of the period.[54]

When we consider the nominal expressions used for Guðlac in the poem, additional to the use of his name, we note, with Rosemary Woolf,[55] that "phrases such as Cristes cempa or eadig oretta occur with refrain-like insistence"; they are constant reminders of the poet's point of view. But more important, even, than the repetition of such phrases is the selectivity of the poet's vocabulary.[56] Despite his clear conception of Guðlac as a *miles Christi* figure, or perhaps because of it, the poet does not designate Guðlac by nouns or nominal phrases that have unambiguously heroic connotations, as can be seen from the list below:

cempa (11 times)	þeow (5 times)
153 Cristes cempa	157 se halga þeow
180 se cempa	314 dryhtnes þeow
324 wuldres cempa	386 se dryhtnes þeow
402 cempa	*579 dryhtnes þeow
438 cempa	600 þeow geþyldig
513 halig cempa	
558 wuldres cempan	oretta (3 times)
576 meotudes cempan	176 eadig oretta
*580 cempa god	401 oretta
688 wuldres cempa	569 godes orettan
727 dryhtnes cempa	

wer (twice)
108 se halga wer
590 se eadga wer

weard (once)
230-31 swiðra . . . weard

yrming (once)
*272 godes yrming

martyre (once)
514 se martyre

ombiehthera (once)
599 ombiehthera

gæst (once)
689-90 leofesta gæst

fruma (once)
773 se fruma

*[cempa god (580) and dryhtnes þeow (579) are used by the devils who claim that Guðlac is not God's warrior and servant; they also use godes yrming (272) in a taunting fashion.]

Cempa is also used twice (91, 797) and oretta once (344) in the overtly didactic passages to refer more generally to Christian warriors.

Only cempa and oretta can be claimed as warrior terms; none of the others, with the exception of weard, which has immediate contextual relevance only in referring to Guðlac's guarding of his mound, suggests either the military qualities or the social relationships of the heroic tradition. On the contrary, þeow, used here and commonly in other poems for those who serve God, occurs once only in *Beowulf* (2223) in a derogatory sense; yrming is used in Old English poetry only here and once in the *Meters of Boethius* (21:17), again in a Christian context; martyre is a Christian loan word; ombiehthera is a *hapax legomenon*; fruma is common in Christian poetry, frequently with reference to God and occurs rarely as a simplex in heroic poetry and wer and gæst, finally, are so widely used in prose and poetry that they have no very specialized connotations. Even the two warrior terms are not those most frequently associated with the heroic tradition.[57] Cempa is widely used in prose in a variety of contexts and, as we have seen, tended to be the favoured word in ecclesiastical prose, as it is the favoured word in this poem, to designate the soldier of Christ.

In other respects too, the poem is more closely related to the Christian military tradition than to the heroic. Following the usual practice, Guðlac's weapons are clearly stated to be spiritual (177-78) and we are reminded by the poet's general didactic comments, by his comments on Guðlac's resistance, and by the words he attributes to Guðlac himself, that the struggle is one of the spirit. His courage comes not from within himself but from the angels and from God (190, 202-3, 292-3), angels and the apostle Bartholomew come to his rescue, and victory is frequently said to be granted by God.

The poet sees Guðlac and those who live like him as martyrs in the wider sense of the term (161, 182, 470-4, 514-15). We are therefore to understand that the saint's victory is properly won through suffering and through service and obedience to God. The emphasis on suffering, which we find in prose accounts of martyrs, is present in

the narrative itself; attention is drawn to it also as a means of performing God's will by Guðlac's words in 385-6 and 778-9. Obedience and service, as we have seen, were likewise an integral part of the *miles Christi* tradition. The prologue to *Guðlac A*, in establishing a number of Christian values, presents obedience and service as positives within the Christian life (69, 75, 80, 91); Guðlac provides a gloss to all his actions in asserting that man cannot reach God but by an obedient spirit (hyrsumne hige, 368), and in his climactic rejection of the final temptation, particularly in lines 599 following, there is emphasis on service, humility, patience and faithful obedience. These qualities, which are essentially passive, are the accepted and traditional means to success for the Christian hero, but not for the heroic warrior.

The poet rarely leaves us in doubt that he is conforming to the Christian tradition even when he composes lines that seem to recall the heroic. Guðlac, like Beowulf, renounces the use of the sword in his fight against his foes (302-7). His reason, however, is not because he wishes to show his prowess by fighting on equal terms, not because he trusts in his own unarmed strength, nor because he believes that the devil is impervious to weapons, but because he believes that God will protect him;[58] his passivity in the "fight" is striking. Furthermore, if Guðlac's renunciation reminds us of Beowulf's, we must not forget that Beowulf, in making a similar renunciation, was exceptional within the heroic tradition. Earlier, the statement:

> Gyrede hine georne mid gæstlicum
> wæpnum (177-78)

may similarly remind one of lines in *Beowulf* (1441-42). The Christian metaphor is maintained by the explicit gæstlicum, so that there is no ambiguity, but the feeling, derived from a knowledge of the heroic tradition, that the phrase adds to Guðlac's general heroic stature, may be justified.

The claims that Guðlac fought alone (ana, 245, 450) may also be thought to be a way of enhancing his heroic stature rather than an accurate description of what really happened, since Guðlac receives so much divine aid. But it is, of course, truthful within the Christian tradition, in that Guðlac receives no human aid, and he earns divine aid, essential for the Christian's victory, solely through his individual faith. It is thus no more inconsistent than the fact that God is said to grant Guðlac strength to resist, as a reward (448-450), when in fact Guðlac has merely allowed himself to be defended by God from attacks which themselves were allowed by God. We should therefore give due consideration to the logical inconsistencies that are part of the *miles Christi* metaphor before criticizing the poet for "projecting effort and triumph when none is clearly visible".[59]

I do not wish to claim that *Guðlac A* is a sophisticated poem theologically, but to show that in most essential details it conforms to the *miles Christi* tradition. The language is not noticeably heroic and the controlling ethic certainly is not. Derek Pearsall wrote of *Guðlac A*:

> it shows some of the limitations of the adapted heroic style in constantly substituting physical for spiritual confrontation. Inward analysis of the allegorically heroic temper of martyrdom seems imprisoned within the inflexibilities of the inherited style.[60]

To respond to the warlike situation and language in this way is to fail to notice the poet's avoidance of obviously heroic vocabulary, in so far as it could be done, to overlook his clear and frequent interpretative guidelines, and not to be aware that the poet may be following a well developed tradition that was fundamentally different from the heroic.

3. Juliana.

Juliana conforms to the warrior-martyr type within the *miles Christi* tradition who "fights" by enduring a physical passion and who, by that faithful endurance, wins victory in death. There is no reason why, as a female saint, she should not be described in the military terms characteristic of the tradition and clearly, as Schneider has pointed out,[61] the tradition is exploited within the poem. That being so, it is interesting to notice that there is no noun or nominal phrase in the poem that defines Juliana as a warrior figure, except indirectly in that she shares the fate of the persecuted Christians referred to in line 17 as cempan and is a particular example of the faithful Christians to whom the devil refers in general terms, again as cempan in 383 and 395.

Indeed, the *miles Christi* imagery is only lightly suggested, except in the relatively elaborate siege-warfare image that is confined to the devil's speech where he explains how he attacks Christians (382-417). Juliana identifies the physical threats of her human foes as hildewoman (136) but since this is in parallel variation to the more accurate witebrogan (135), we should probably not place too much stress on the "battle" element. Uncres gewynnes (190) is given to Eleusius to describe his struggle with Juliana and gewin (421) is used by Juliana to describe the former contest between God and the devil. But gewin is insufficient to suggest an allusion to the *miles Christi* tradition, nor does it carry any specifically heroic connotations since it is used in varied contexts in both poetry and prose and has a wider semantic range than merely "battle", as the entry in Bosworth-Toller makes clear.

Juliana's behaviour is that of the spiritual *miles* in her passivity and reliance on God (153-57; 212-15), but it is only in the siege-warfare passage that we are made very conscious of the Christian metaphor. The passage has been carefully examined by Schneider and therefore needs little further attention here. But we do well to remind ourselves that the siege-warfare image owes nothing to native traditions and to notice that, as in the *Cura Pastoralis*, the details of the image are immediately provided with their spiritual interpretation. One may respond to beaduwe (385), bord (385), scyld (386), guðreaf (387) and guðe (393, 397) as words more familiar in heroic contexts, but there is no room for ambiguity here; scyld is qualified by halig, guðreaf by gæstlic, bord is

unmistakably equivalent to a qualified term, haligne scyld, and so, given the context, the nature of the beadu and guð cannot be misunderstood. A few lines later (397-409), when the devil describes how he tests the strength of the wall that he wishes to breach, and discovers how he can penetrate the tower, the detail of the image never detracts from the fact that it is the citadel of the spirit that may be penetrated when sin attacks the bodily senses, the weakest points of defence. The code of behaviour that brings the warrior protection and victory is again the exercise of virtue, faith in God and a resistance that is physically passive.

The exact source of *Juliana* is unknown, although it was obviously a Latin text similar to the Bollandists' *Acta*.[62] It may therefore be worth noting that the siege image, though a close reflection of siege images such as we find in Latin patristic writings, is not present in the *Acta*. If it is a Cynewulfian addition, it testifies to his familiarity with the Latin tradition and, presumably, to his assumption that the image would make sense to his audience, although it remains a unique image in extant Old English poetry.[63]

4. The Fates of the Apostles.

With *The Fates of the Apostles*, in contrast with *Guðlac A* and *Juliana*, one cannot argue for a discriminating and selective use of heroic diction, since the opening lines, which act as a prologue, echo heroic poetry and set up expectations, belied by the manner of the apostles' deaths, that the poet is about to describe the warlike deeds of physically active heroes. Linguistically there is much in the poem to sustain this expectation. There is, for example, reference to lof (6), miht (7), mærðo (7), þrym (8), guðplegan (22), sigores to leane (62), wiges to leane (74), sigelean (81), tir (86) and the nouns and adjectives used for the apostles are in total much more evocative of the heroic tradition than those used for Guðlac in *Guðlac A*:

æðelingas (3)
torhte ond tireadige (4)
dædum domfæste (5)
dryhtne gecorene (5)
leofe on life (6)
þeodnes þegna (8)
halgan heape (9)
frame (12)
fyrdhwate (12)
hildeheard (21)
se manna (25)
beaducræftig beorn (44)
collenferð (54)
se halga (60)
stiðmod (72)
eadig (73)
siðfrome (77)
beornas beadurofe (78)
æðele (79)
æðelingas (85)

There is every reason why the martyred apostles should be described in military terms and within the Christian tradition, as we have seen, there is nothing incongruous in representing their passive victories, their physical sufferings and their deaths as battles and as triumphs. Certainly Cynewulf remains faithful to the facts of the apostles' deaths and hence, in using military terminology in what, from a secular point of view, are inappropriate contexts, conforms to the *miles Christi* tradition. The problem lies

not in seeing the apostles as Christian *milites*, but in the injudicious use of language that arouses connotations of more active warfare and which implies a bravery originating within the warrior, such as characterizes the secular hero rather than the Christian, whose courage comes from God.

The poem thus lacks the stylistic tact that one finds, on the whole, in *Guðlac A* or *Juliana*. Bartholomew is described as beaducræftig beorn (44), Simon and Thaddeus are beornas beadurofe (78) and Peter and Paul are fyrdhwate (12) although, in contradiction to what the language implies, the keynote of each story is suffering and submission to violent death. Peter and Paul are the victims of Nero's plots and however fyrdhwate they might be, simply feorh ofgefon (12). Similarly, Andrew is hildeheard (21) and experiences guðplegan (22), but the battle is in fact the martyrdom of crucifixion.

Schaar characterized the poem as one written almost wholly within the heroic tradition and continued:

> This mission of the apostles is set forth as the fight between bold and steadfast warriors and dark and evil powers, the final death and martyrdom of God's servants is looked upon as the tragic but glorious overthrow of faithful retainers.[64]

This assessment of the poem, however, gives more weight to the connotations of the language than to the essential ideas expressed, which are Christian throughout.[65] Their deaths are not seen as "the tragic but glorious overthrow of faithful retainers" but rather, and appropriately, as their moment of greatest victory and triumph. Cynewulf's problem was not conceptual, but linguistic, although we may properly ask, with Shippey,[66] how far the use of one particular style can actually alter the story told. Here it certainly confuses our response.

5. Andreas.

Our response to *Andreas* is similarly confused and for the same reasons. The poem's stylistic incongruities are widely recognized and have been commented upon in some detail by Cherniss[67] and Shippey.[68] The value of considering *Andreas* in the context of this paper, as of considering *The Fates of the Apostles*, is to draw attention to the poets' peculiar difficulties in using the *miles Christi* metaphor and to define contrastively, by reference to relative failures, the means by which the image may be successfully presented, as it is in *Guðlac A* and *Juliana*.

Andreas, in his passivity and in his reliance on God for protection and victory, conforms to the *miles Christi* tradition. He suffers a form of passion (966-72, 1238-78) without quite dying as a martyr, and he defeats the warlike Mermedonians when the sign of the cross appears on his face (1334-40). But the poet does not make reference to the wider perspective of the *miles Christi* tradition in which the hero's struggles may be seen as a pattern and model of the Christian life. The saint's acts conform to those

of the *miles Christi* only because the nature of his actions and experiences are predetermined in the given narrative, which the poet does not alter. If he was aware of the implications of his narrative, that spiritual warfare is one of obedience to God and calls for a different relationship between God and man than that between lord and retainer, he does not articulate it. The notions of military service suggested by the language of the poem are not modified by concepts of service such as are found in *Guðlac A* (or in the Benedictine Rule); þeow and þeowian are not used in *Andreas*.

In Christian contexts military language, which normally implies physical action, is often used in situations where no action occurs. But if the Christian frame of reference is clearly established, the audience accepts this somewhat paradoxical linguistic and behavioural pattern as a fulfilment of their immediate expectations. With *Andreas*, however, the situation is quite different in that the audience's response is not conditioned and limited by the poet's direct comments or judicious use of language. On the contrary, his style is so heavily dependent on the heroic tradition that it inevitably arouses the wrong set of expectations with the result that, when inaction follows, as dictated by the narrative, we experience a strong sense of incongruity.

The "set-piece"[69] of Andreas' release of the prisoners (981 ff.), which is not discussed by Cherniss, is a good example of the poet's lack of sensitivity. The hero's advance on the gaol is one of the climaxes of the narrative and the description of his approach is reminiscent of a heroic warrior advancing to battle:

> Ða wæs gemyndig modgeþyldig,
> beorn beaduwe heard, eode in burh hraðe,
> anræd oretta, elne gefyrðred,
> maga mode rof, meotude getreowe,
> stop on stræte, (stig wisode) (981-85)

Indeed the whole episode can be used to argue a relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*.[70] The traditional build-up is completely undercut, however, by the fact that there is no battle, God grants the victory, death mysteriously carries off the warders so that Andreas meets with no opposition, and his bold front as a courageous and resolute warrior is inappropriate since he cannot even be seen. The released prisoners no longer experience guðgeþingo (1043) in prison (which is in fact a place of suffering) and the two apostles are called wigend and hæleð higerofe (1053-4) even though, like the rest of those who have left the prison, they are now both hidden by God from their enemies' sight. The experience of suffering, the passive reception of "victory" and of God's protection are compatible with the Christian being called a fighter, but the poet's organization of the passage and his choice of language arouse expectations that are inappropriate for recognition of the Christian metaphor.

Even allowing for the fact that *Andreas* is twice the length of *Guðlac A*, the range of terms used to describe Andreas is far greater than the noticeably restricted range used for Guðlac. The *Andreas* poet exploits the poetic vocabulary in the same way as the *Beowulf*

poet does for his hero. The unambiguously Christian designations of Andreas are relatively few. Halig, se halga and se halga wer are the commonest (e.g. 168, 359, 382, 467, 831, 893, 996, 1010, 1171, 1222, 1253, 1307, 1315, 1389, 1395, 1478, 1566, 1586, 1607). As an apostle he is recognized as being a þegn of Christ (323, 344, along with the other apostles), a þegn of glory (1026 with Matthew, 1678) and he is gode leof (1579), ar godes (1647), and æþelcyninges ar (1679). The only other explicitly Christian designations are halig cempa (461) and Cristes cempa (991). These, along with eadig oreta (463), which must also be an allusion to the Christian metaphor,[71] identify Andreas as a spiritual soldier, but in a poem of 1722 lines that is so rich in epithets for Andreas drawn from the heroic tradition, they have little effect in restricting our response to Andreas as a warrior and their relative insignificance does not suggest a consistent attempt by the poet to present his hero as a *miles Christi*. His effort lies rather in presenting him as a hero of the Germanic tradition since the Christian epithets are surpassed by nouns and adjectives more familiar in heroic poetry, as is indicated by the following representative list (nominative forms only):

heard ond higerof (233)
guðe fram (234)
beorn (239, 1247, 1279)
wis hæleð (624, 919)
maga mode rof (625, 984)
wiges heard (839)
beorn beaduwe heard (982)
leof leodfruma (989)
æþeling (990, 1272, 1459)
hæle hildedeor (1002)
sigerof (1225)
deormod (1232)
eorl ellenheard (1254)
eorl unforcuð (1263)
deor ond domgeorn (1308)
þrohtheard þegn (1391)
ellenrof (1392)
stiðhycgende (1429)
wigendra hleo (1450, 1672)
se dædfruma (1455)
mægene rof (1469, 1676)
mihtig ond modrof (1496)
cene collenferhð (1578)
se modiga (1632)

The cumulative effect of such vocabulary, reinforced by set-piece descriptions easily recognized as inspired by the heroic tradition, is to contradict the hagiographic narrative pattern. There is no real evidence that the poet was aware of these contradictions and his stylistic insensitivity may be a result of an insensitivity to the real nature of the Christian tradition of spiritual warfare, as exemplified in his presentation of the confrontations between Andreas and the Mermedonians.

The critical stance summarized by Schneider and quoted at the beginning of this paper may thus be justified in the case of *Andreas*, but we should not generalize from it; for all its vigour, it is naive and unsatisfactory as a Christian poem. It is possible to discriminate between poems and to recognize that not all poets found themselves "forced . . . to describe Christian characters inappropriately in terms belonging to the ideals of a warrior society". The tradition of the soldier of Christ was known in pre-Conquest England and much of the military language in Christian contexts was inspired

by that tradition and not by the inherited traditions of the Germanic heroic world.[72]

NOTES

1 Claude Schneider, "Cynewulf's devaluation of heroic tradition in *Juliana*", *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 107.

2 Derek Pearsall, *Old and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), pp.27-8.

3 Adolf Harnack, *'Militia Christi': Die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Tübingen, 1905), p.18.

4 Harnack, p.30; Johann Auer, " 'Militia Christi' : Zur Geschichte eines christlichen Grundbildes", *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik* 32 (1959), 344-46.

5 *Benedicti Regula*, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (1960), pp.1-2. References throughout this paragraph are to Hanslik's edition.

6 C. Mohrmann, "La Langue de Saint Benoît" in *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, ed. P. Schmitz (Maredsous, 1955), pp.9-39.

7 E. Manning, "La Signification de 'Militare - Militia - Miles' dans la Règle de Saint Benoît", *Revue Bénédictine* 72 (1962), 135-38.

8 *The Rule of S. Benet*, ed. H. Logeman, EETS, OS 90 (1888).

9 The related noun *militia* is glossed by campdom (Logeman, p.14).

10 *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel*, ed. Arnold Schröer, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. 2 (Kassel, 1885-88), p.97. This is a doublet translation, "winnan wilt and campiam" (correctly campian, as in the Wells Fragment, p.96).

11 The translation is late tenth century; the interlinear gloss later, possibly early eleventh century, but independent of the translation. Further to the editions, see Jerome Oetgen, "The Old English *Rule* of St. Benedict", *American Benedictine Review* 26 (1975), 38-53 and Mechthild Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England* (Munich, 1973), pp.4-5.

12 Where the Latin text uses *pugnare* to describe the more active eremitical struggle against the devil, both the translator and glossator use winnan: Schröer, p.9; Logeman, p.10. For a brief comment on the distribution of campian in Old English prose, see Janet Bately, "The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 60 B.C. to A.D. 890: Vocabulary as Evidence", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 64 (1978), 123.

13 *The Hexameron of St. Basil*, ed. H.W. Norman (2nd ed., London, 1849). Also commonly known as Basil's *Admonitio*. Norman accepts it uncritically as the commentary of Basil of Cappadocia, but for the relationship of the Latin text to the commentaries of the Carolingian Reform, notably those of Paulus Diaconus and Hildemar, see P. Wolfgang Hafner, *Der Basiliuskommentar zur Regula S. Benedicti*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, Heft 23 (Münster, 1959).

14 The laws also reflect this imagery. Monks are "Godes cempan innan heora mynstran", *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1840), p.431.

15 *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, EETS, OS 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881-1900; repr. as 2 vols., 1966), II, pp.66-124. For a further comparison between secular and spiritual warfare, see *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum*, ed. E.W. Rhodes, EETS, OS 93 (1889), p.61.

16 *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, II, p.286. See also the anonymous life of Ceolfrið, where the monastic community is seen as a *cohors*; *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p.397.

17 *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, the Capitula of Theodulf and the Epitome of Benedict of Aniane*, ed. Arthur S. Napier, EETS, OS 150 (1916), pp.67 (Latin) and 68 (OE).

18 For monks as the successors to martyrs, see *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Bruno Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. III (Kassel, 1889), pp.35-6 and E. Manning, *Revue Bénédictine* 72 (1962), 135.

19 *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS, SS 5 (1979), p.314. Subsequently to be cited as *Catholic Homilies*, Godden.

20 *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, Vol. 1 (London, 1844), pp.56, 82, 84, 232, 352-54, 382, 484, 546; *Catholic Homilies*, Godden, pp.247, 286; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, I, pp.126, 192, 332, 416, 418, 492; II, p.370.

21 *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, I, p.145.

22 *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. B. Thorpe, I, p.388; *Catholic Homilies*, Godden, pp.247, 288; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, I, p.144.

23 *Die Vercelli-Homilien. I-VIII Homilie*, ed. Max Förster, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. XII (Hamburg, 1932), p.117.

24 *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. George Herzfeld, EETS, OS 116 (1900).

25 *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. T. Wright and R. Wülcker (London, 1884). The glosses, which are given in vol. 1, are referred to here by column and item number.

26 Bede uses military imagery not just for martyrs, but for saintly kings, professional churchmen and for the faithful who struggle against sin: *Ecclesiastical History of the English Peoples*, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp.364, 380, 476, 486; *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, in *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p.408; *Historia Abbatum*, ed. C. Plummer, *op.cit.*, p.371; *Opera Homiletica*, ed. D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 122 (1955), pp.116, 203, 268, 269.

27 *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historicae, Ep. IV (Berlin, 1895), p.221. For some other uses of the metaphor by Alcuin, see also pp.310-11, 314.

28 *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historicae, Ep. III (Berlin, 1892), p.650.

29 In the letter of Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury to Lul, *Epistolae*, ed. Dümmler, MGH, Ep. III, p.398, and in Willibald's *Vita Bonifatii*, ed. W. Levison, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim edit (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905).

30 C. Albertson, *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Heroes* (Fordham University, 1967), p.313.

31 In the military situation in Anglo-Saxon England, siege warfare was neither possible nor appropriate. It is only after the Norman Conquest that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* begins recording the tactic of besieging deliberately fortified areas. Earlier, besieging had been a temporary response to the opportunist seizure of earthworks or river islands by bands of Vikings.

32 *Moralium Libri sive Expositio in Librum B. Job*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, 75 (1902), coll. 521-22; 76 (1878), coll. 118-9, 744.

33 *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, EETS, OS 45, 50 (1871), pp.227-9, 277-9, 311.

34 Pearsall, in the quotation above, p. 57, provides an extreme example of the wrong assumptions that can be made in clearly implying a relationship between the native heroic tradition and Bede's designation of Cuthbert as a "miles Christi". In fact, as must be clear from what has been said so far, Bede, here and elsewhere, is influenced by the Latin tradition alone. With Old English poetry the situation is less clear cut, but it is obvious that assumptions need to be tested.

35 There are good examples also in the Old English versions of the story of Guðlac, for which, see below, pp. 65-9.

36 For comment on this exceptional incident, see B.P. Kurtz, "From St. Antony to St. Guthlac. A Study in Biography", *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, 12 (1926), 108-9.

37 *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hans Hecht, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. V (Leipzig and Hamburg, 1900-1907), pp.121-22, and in similar instances elsewhere in the *Dialogues*, as is pointed out in the text at the end of this episode. For dependence on the armour of faith, the help of God and the angels, associated with the passivity of the individual, see the brief references in *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, EETS, OS 58, 63, 73 (1874-80), p.209; *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. B. Thorpe, I, p.604; *Catholic Homilies*, Godden, p.234; *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W.W. Skeat, I, p.132; Cambridge University Library MS I.1.33, f.207r; Vercelli Homily XIX (part of which, including the military metaphor, is printed by P. Szarmach, "Caesarius of Arles and the Vercelli Homilies", *Traditio* 26 (1970), 315-23. The homily has not yet been published in full). The key virtue may be the unmilitaristic one of patience, *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum*, ed. E. Rhodes, p.12.

38 Kurtz, *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12 (1926), 107. For Cuthbert, see *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940); for Guthlac, see *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956).

39 ed. H. Sweet, p.83. Elsewhere the priest is seen as armourer in his administration of baptism, *Wulfstan*, ed. A.S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler IV (Berlin, 1883), p.35.

40 For presentation of the psalmist's passive situation in military terms, see psalms 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 24, 27, 36, 42, 53, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 69, 70, 75, 90, 93, 112, 137, 139 (Vulgate). Exegetes further increased the military imagery of the psalms by interpreting the references to the *tabernacula* as the tent of the soldier on the march, even when the immediate context of *tabernacula* was non-military. See for example, Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 38 (1956), pp.517, 218-19, 477.

41 *Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, p.431. There is one instance in Old English prose of the devil using a boarspear, *Byrhtferth's Manual*, ed. S.J. Crawford, EETS, OS 177 (1929), p.144.

42 As, possibly, in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, I, p.74. The verb used is torfian, translated as 'shoot' by Skeat, probably correctly on the basis of Ælfric's equation elsewhere of torfian and sceotan (see Bosworth-Toller, p.829, *s.v. sceotan*). It is unlikely, in the context, that torfian is meant literally as "to pelt with turf".

43 *Die Vercelli-Homilien*, ed. Förster, pp.103-5. Note also Ælfric's careful designation of the soldier as "se gastlica cempa" in his explanation of Job 7 v.1, "Militia est vita hominis super terram". He is equally careful to give his military imagery unambiguous spiritual interpretation in another brief reference, *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, I, p.362.

44 Harnack, *Militia Christi*, pp.8, 43ff.

45 J.E. Cross, "The ethic of war in Old English", in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp.269-82.

46 I consequently also omit *Judith* later, since it likewise describes, albeit anachronistically and inaccurately, an historical, physical confrontation that is seen as a holy war.

47 C.L. Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", *Traditio* 15 (1959), 191, identifies the Bedan source of the first part of this homily (Thorpe, pp.364-70), but this is not the source for the second part (Thorpe, pp.370-84) despite the fact that Smetana's remarks seem to apply to the whole of Thorpe, pp.364-84. In using military imagery here, Ælfric may be following his unidentified source.

48 *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, ed. Paul Gonser, *Anglistische Forschungen* 27 (1909).

49 B.P. Kurtz, "From St. Antony to St. Guthlac. A Study in Biography", *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12 (1926), 104-46.

50 Rosemary Woolf, "Saints' Lives", in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E.G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp.53-56, believes that this psychological approach is not sustained in *Guðlac A* and that the demons are presented as external, often physical persecutors. For a contrary view, see D.G. Calder, "*Guðlac A* and *Guðlac B*: Some Discriminations", in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation. For John C. McGalliard*, ed. L. Nicholson and D.W. Frese (Notre Dame and London, 1975), pp.65-80.

51 Summaries of the discussion are to be found in *The Exeter Book*, ed. G.P.

Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, III (New York and London, 1936), p.xxxii and *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: The Major Latin Texts in Translation*, trans., M.J.B. Allen and D.G. Calder (Cambridge, 1976), p.108.

52 L. Shook, "The Prologue of the Old English *Guthlac A*", *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961), 294-304, particularly 295.

53 All poetic references are to *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York and London, 1931-53).

54 Although both Felix and the Old English *Life* give the literal meaning of Guðlac's name ("belli munus") and describe his conversion *from* a life of secular warfare, they do not fully capitalize on the military metaphor in presenting it in any developed sense as a conversion *to* spiritual warfare. Indeed, the Old English *Life* reduces the military metaphor in sometimes translating *miles Christi* as "se eadiga wer".

55 "Saints' Lives", p.55.

56 Michael D. Cherniss, *Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry* (The Hague and Paris, 1972), p.232, correctly notes the poet's selection of the non-heroic þeow to describe Guðlac's relationship with God. But his following remark, that "The poet calls Guthlac God's 'servant' . . . about as frequently as His 'thane' or 'warrior' ", is inaccurate. þegn is never used of Guðlac, only of the apostle Bartholomew (693, 708) and of the devils, by virtue of their relationship to Satan (547). Further, þeow is used five times against a total of fourteen for cempa and oretta together.

57 For this and similar comments about usage in Old English poetry, see *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, ed. J.B. Bessinger (Ithaca and London, 1978).

58 The difference between the two heroes is marked if one compares Guðlac's beot (239-61) with those of Beowulf before his major fights.

59 T.A. Shippey, *Old English Verse* (London, 1972), p.130.

60 *Old and Middle English Poetry*, p.44.

61 Claude Schneider, "Cynewulf's devaluation of heroic tradition in *Juliana*", *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 107-118.

62 *Juliana*, ed. Rosemary Woolf (London, 1955), pp.11-17.

63 A citadel image which is obviously related to the imagery of siege warfare occurs in *Vainglory*, but the citadel is destroyed from within. For the underlying traditions, see C.A. Regan, "Patristic Psychology in the Old English *Vainglory*", *Traditio* 26 (1970), 324-35 and, in relation to both *Vainglory* and *Juliana*, J.F. Doubleday, "The Allegory of the Soul as Fortress in Old English Poetry", *Anglia* 88 (1970), 503-508. The only other possible parallel is *Beowulf* 1740-47, the language of which is generally recognized as deriving from homiletic literature. But here we have no tower or stronghold, only armour, and the positive Christian virtues, such as patience and faith, which normally strengthen the defence, are not mentioned.

64 C. Schaar, *Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group* (Lund and Copenhagen, 1949), p.34.

65 In addition to the underlying emphasis on victory through suffering, see, for example, the reference to the praiseworthy renunciation of transitory earthly wealth (82-84).

66 *Old English Verse*, p.119.

67 *Ingeld and Christ*, pp.171-93.

68 *Old English Verse*, pp.114-126.

69 Other "set pieces" include the hero setting out on a journey (230ff.) and the Mermedonians' attack (1201ff.).

70 For a summary of the parallels with *Beowulf*, see Shippey, *Old English Verse*, pp.115-117.

71 Eadig oretta is also used for David, l.879. It is a collocation that occurs also in *Guðlac* as an allusion to the Christian metaphor but one would not expect it in heroic poetry and it may be taken as unequivocally Christian here. Leoflic cempa (1446) should also probably be added, though it is a unique collocation in the extant poetry. Cempa in 230 and oretta in 983 are in immediate linguistic contexts that are strongly reminiscent of the heroic tradition and there is nothing to suggest that they are to be understood metaphorically.

72 The new edition of *Guðlac A* in *The Guthlac poems of the Exeter Book*, ed. Jane Roberts (Oxford, 1979), unfortunately appeared too late to be used in this article. The editor does not examine the *miles Christi* imagery in any detail but her analysis of the poem confirms that the poet was familiar with patristic and hagiographical traditions. She believes too (p.52) that it has a distinctly monastic orientation, a belief that can be supported by what this article has shown of the relationship between monasticism and the image of the *miles Christi*.

"CYNEWULF AND CYNEHEARD" AND THE ICELANDIC SAGAS[1]

By R.W. McTURK

The story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard (C&C) told under the year 755 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*[2] is of great potential interest to students of literature for several reasons. Just as Caedmon's *Hymn* represents, however indirectly, the very beginnings of a certain type of English narrative poetry, so does C&C represent the very beginnings of English narrative prose. Like Caedmon's *Hymn* also, C&C raises questions about the nature of oral as opposed to written composition, and the transition from the former to the latter.[3] Furthermore, the exceptional fact that this story deals mainly with events of some thirty years after the year under which it is recorded, yet brings them into connection with an event assigned to that year,[4] shows a reaching towards "plot" as opposed to "story" as these two concepts are distinguished by formalist critics. According to this distinction, "'Story' is simply the basic succession of events",[5] such as one might expect to find in a chronicle, whereas ". . . *plot* is the narrative as actually shaped . . . for maximum emotional effect and thematic interest".[6] C&C, I would suggest, is a case, *par excellence*, for testing the validity of this distinction, even though I shall hardly be doing so here, and will not be using the terms "story" and "plot" in these very specific senses.

What I should like to attempt is an investigation of the claim made so often that C&C is in one way or another comparable to an Icelandic saga.[7] First, for convenience, the text of the annal for 755 in the Parker Chronicle (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 173, cited as A) is reproduced below, based on that of Charles Plummer's edition[8] and collated with the facsimile of the manuscript edited by Robin Flower and Hugh Smith.[9] Substantial variants are given in the textual notes from the four other versions of the Chronicle which have independent value for restoring the text of C&C in its earliest recoverable form.[10] These are the Cotton manuscripts Tiberius A, vi (B; transcribed from microfilm by my colleague Peter Orton),[11] Tiberius B. i (C; edited by Harry August Rositzke),[12] and Tiberius B. iv (D; edited by E. Classen and F.E. Harmer);[13] and the Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 636 (E; edited by Plummer).[14] Plummer's text of the annal as found in Old English in the bilingual and greatly abridged version of the Chronicle known as F (i.e. MS Cotton Domitian A. viii), is also reproduced below, as are his references to the Latin text of the annal in that version (F.Lat.).[15] Contracted forms have been silently expanded except in certain cases in the textual notes where neglect of such forms might give rise to doubt or ambiguity. It should be noted that the superior figures in the Old English texts reproduced below refer to the textual notes which immediately follow

them, and should not be confused with those elsewhere in the present article, which refer, of course, to the footnotes.

THE TEXT

A.755. Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht[1] his rices[2] and West Seaxna wiotan for unryhtum dædum, buton Hamtunscire; and he hæfde þa oþ[3] he ofslog þone aldormon þe him lengest[4] wunode; and hiene þa Cynewulf on[5] Andred adræfde, and he þær wunade oþ þæt[6] hiene an swan[7] ofstang æt Pryfetes flodan; and[8] he[9] wræc þone aldormon Cumbran; and se[10] Cynewulf oft[11] miclum gefeohtum feaht[12] uuiþ Bretwalum[13]; and ymb xxxi[14] wintra[15] þæs þe he rice hæfde, he wolde adræfan[16] anne æþeling se[17] wæs Cyneheard haten[18], and[19] se Cyneheard[20] wæs þæs[21] Sigebryhtes broþur; and[22] þa geascode[23] he þone cyning lytle[24] werode on wifcyþþe[25] on Merantune, and[26] hine þær[27] berad, and þone bur[28] utan beeode[29] ær[30] hine þa men onfunden[31] þe mid þam kyninge wærun.

And[32] þa ongeat se cyning þæt, and he[33] on þa duru eode[34], and þa unheanlice hine werede, oþ[35] he on þone æþeling locude, and[36] þa ut ræsde on hine[37], and hine miclum gewundode. And hie alle[38] on þone Cyning wærun feohtende[39] oþ þæt[40] hie hine ofslægenne[41] hæfdon; and[42] þa on[43] þæs wifes gebærum onfundon þæs cyninges þegnas þa unstilnesse, and þa[44] þider urnon swa hwelc swa þonne gearo wearþ and[45] radost[46]; and hiera[47] se æþeling gehwelcum[48] feoh and feorh[49] gebead[50], and hiera[51] nænig[52] hit geþicgean[53] nolde[54]. Ac hie[55] simle feohtende wæran oþ[56] hie alle lægon[57] butan anum Bryttiscum[58] gisle, and se swiþe[59] gewundad wæs.

Ða on morgenne[60] gehierdun þæt þæs cyninges þegnas þe him beæftan[61] wærun þæt se cyning ofslægen wæs[62], þa ridon hie[63] þider, and his aldormon Osric, and Wiferþ his þegn, and þa men þe he beæftan[64] him[65] læfde ær[66], and þone æþeling on þære byrig metton[67] þær se cyning ofslægen læg, and[68] þa[69] gatu him to[70] belocen hæfdon and þa[71] þær to eodon; and[72] þa gebead[73] he him hiera agenne dom feos and londes gif hie him þæs rices uþon[74], and him cyþdon[75] þæt hiera mægas him mid wæron þa þe him from noldon; and[76] þa cuædon hie þæt him nænig[77] mæg leofra nære þonne hiera hlaford, and[78] hie næfre his banan folgian noldon, and[79] þa budon hie hiera mægum þæt hie[80] gesunde from eodon; and[81] hie cuædon þæt tæt[82] ilce hiera geferum geboden wære, þe ær mid þam cyninge wærun; þa cuædon hie þæt[83] hie hie[84] þæs[85] ne onmunden[86] 'þon[87] ma þe eowre[88] geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wærun'[89]. And[90] hie þa ymb þa gatu feohtende wæron oþþæt[91] hie þærinne[92] fulgon[93], and þone æþeling ofslogon, and þa men þe him mid[94] wærun alle butan anum, se wæs[95] þæs aldormonnes[96] godsunu, and he his feorh generede, and þeah[97] he[98] wæs oft gewundad. And[99] se Cynewulf ricsode xxxi wintra[100] and his lic liþ æt[101] Wintanceastre, and þæs æþelinges æt[102] Ascanmynster, and hiera ryhtfæderencyn[103] gæþ to Cerdice.

And þy ilcan geare mon ofslog Æþelbald Miercna cyning on Seccandune, and his lic liþ[104] on Hreopadune[105]; and[106] Beornræd feng[107] to rice, and[108] lytle hwile heold and ungefealice; and þy[109] ilcan geare Offa[110] feng[111] to[112] rice, and[113] heold xxxviiii wintra[114]. And his sunu Egferþ[115] heold[116] xli daga ond c daga. Se Offa wæs[117] Þincgferþing[118], Þincgferþ Eanwulfing, Eanwulf Osmoding, Osmod Eawing, Eawa Pybing, Pybba Creoding, Creoda Cynewalding, Cynewald Cnebbing, Cnebba Iceling, Icel Eomæring, Eomær Angelþowing, Angelþeow Offing, Offa Wærmunding, Wærmund Wihtlæging, Wihtlæg Wodening.

F.755. Her Cynewulf benam Siberte cinge[119] his rice. And Sibertes broðer, Cynehard gehaten, ofsloh Cynewulf on Merantune[120]. And he rixode xxxi gear. And ðas ylcan geares man ofsloh Æðelbald Myrcena cing on Hreopandune. And Offa gefeng Myrcena rice[121], geflymdon Beornrede[122].

1. Sigebrihte BC; Sigebryhte his mæge D, Sigebrihte his mæge E 2. rice E 3. þ with stroke through neck, as if þæt B 4. C adds mid 5. of C 6. For oþ þæt B has þ with stroke through neck, as if þæt; C has oþ þ with stroke through necks, as if oþæt þæt 7. an swan hine D 8. D omits and . . . Cumbran; E omits and 9. se B; sæ swan E 10. Omitted B,C 11. of D; B and C add mid 12. feaht mycclum gefeahtum E 13. Brytwealas D; Britwealas E 14. xxi D; xvi E 15. So B, C, D, E; wint A 16. B adds ut 17. þe D 18. D omits haten and se Cyneheard; gehaten E 19. Omitted E 20. B omits se Cyneheard, for which C has he 21. Omitted C 22. Omitted B 23. acsode E 24. lyt E 25. wifcyððan E 26. B adds he 27. B adds inne 28. For þone bur B and C have þa burh 29. ymb eodan B; beeodan C; beeodon D, E 30. þ with stroke through neck, as if þæt B 31. onfundan B; onfundon C; afundan E 32. Omitted B 33. Omitted B 34. uteode B, C 35. þ with stroke through neck, as if þæt B 36. C omits and . . . gewundode 37. on hine ræsde B 38. C adds þa 39. feohtende precedes wæron B, C, D, E 40. for oþ þæt B has þ with stroke through neck, as if þæt 41. of slægen E 42. Omitted B 43. For on . . . unstilnesse B has: onfundan þ (with stroke through neck, i.e. þæt; interlined) þæs kinges geferan on ðæs wifes unstilnesse 44. Omitted B, C 45. Omitted B, C, D, E 46. Omitted B, C; raðost D, hraðost E 47. him þa C; omitted E 48. æghwylcum B, C 49. For feoh and feorh B has feorh and feoh 50. bead B, C, D, E 51. heo E 52. nan B 53. For hit gebicgean B has þæs onfon; C, D and E have þicgan, with hit omitted. 54. wolde B; noldan E 55. B adds on hine 56. B adds þ with stroke through neck, i.e. þæt 57. ofslagene wæron E 58. Bryttiscan C, Brytwyliscum D, E 59. For swiþe . . . wæs B has: wæs swiþe fordod, and C has: wæs forwundod 60. mergen B, C; morgen D, E 61. b(e)æftan precedes him, B, C 62. wæs precedes ofslegen (sic), B, C 63. Omitted E 64. For beæftan . . . ær B has ær him bæftan læfde; C ær beæftan læfde 65. him precedes beæftan D, E 66. ær precedes læfde D 67. gemettun C, gemetton E 68. B adds hie þa, C and D hi, E heo 69. For þa . . . to C has him þa gatu to 70. to . . . he him inserted on margin E, where him appears as heom. See Plummer I, 49,

n.6 71. hi(e) B, C 72. Omitted B 73. bead B, C, D, E 74. geuþan B 75. cyþde B, cyðde D, cydde E 76. Omitted B 77. nan B 78. B adds þ with stroke through neck, i.e. þæt 79. Omitted B 80. B, C and D add him; E adds heom 81. For and hie cuædon B has þa cuædan hie 82. So A; for þæt tæt B has þ (with stroke through neck) þæt; C and E have þ þ (with strokes through neck); D has þ (with stroke through neck) 83. So A; for þæt E has þþ with strokes through neck, as if þæt þæt 84. This second hie interlined A; omitted B, C, E; appears as hit (sic) D 85. B adds hie sylfe 86. amundan B; amundon C; gemundon E 87. þe B, C; þonne E 88. heora B, D, E 89. wæron precedes ofslægene D, and precedes of slagene E 90. E omits and 91. So A; þ (with stroke through neck, as if þæt) B; oþ þ (with strokes through neck, as if oþæt þæt) C; oð D, E 92. bær in E 93. wurdon B; flugon E 94. mid precedes him B, C, D, E 95. C omits se wæs, for which B has þ (with stroke through neck, as if þæt) wæs 96. duxes C 97. Omitted D, E 98. Omitted B 99. Omitted B, C 100. So B, D, E; winţ A; geara C 101. on B, C, D, E 102. on D, E 103. The en in fæderen added above the line A (-fædren- D; -fæderan- E) 104. ræsteð D, restað E 105. D and E add and he ricsade (rixade E) xli wintra 106. E adds þa 107. feng precedes Beornred E 108. B and C add hit 109. þa E 110. D adds geflemde Beo[r]nred and; E adds geflymde Beornred and 111. feng precedes offa B; feng þa Offa C 112. D and E add þam 113. B adds þ (with stroke through neck, i.e. þæt) 114. So B, C, D, E; winţ A 115. þ supplied above the line A; Ecgferð his sunu B, C 116. Omitted B, C 117. Wæs se Offa D 118. D and E omit the remainder of the genealogy 119. cinge inserted above the line 120. on Merantune inserted above the line; *apud Meredune* F.Lat. 121. rice inserted above the line 122. *fugato Bernredo rege herede Adelb[aldi]* F.Lat.

One reason for the comparison of this story with the Icelandic sagas has been the fact that "divided loyalties"[16] and more specifically "loyalty to one's lord vs. loyalty to one's kin"[17] form a large part of its subject-matter. That there should have been relatives of Cynewulf's supporters among those of Cyneheard (see ll.34-41 of the text) becomes readily understandable when it is recognized that the two men were related to each other, and presumably numbered kinsmen among their followers. That they were related is made clear at the end of the story, where it is said that "their direct paternal ancestry goes back to Cerdic" (ll.48-9); and in the D and E manuscripts the annal begins with the statement that, with the help of the West Saxon council, Cynewulf deprived his *kinsman* Sigebryht (later revealed as Cyneheard's brother, as in A, ll.10-11) of the greater part of his kingdom (see textual note 1, above). This seems to reflect a growing recognition in the course of the manuscript tradition of the importance of the relationship between Cynewulf and the brothers Sigebryht and Cyneheard for an appreciation of the story; and the emphasis on the relationship at the beginning and end of the story in these manuscripts is reminiscent of the

rhetorical device in Old English poetry known as the "envelope pattern", whereby a passage with its own unity of content may be marked at the end by repetition of words and ideas (or either) which have been introduced at the beginning.[18] Francis Joseph Battaglia, who has noticed this emphasis on the relationship (though without comparing it to the envelope pattern), also draws attention to the interesting fact that the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman chronicler Gaimar, whose sources possibly included a version of the Chronicle now lost,[19] appears to speak of Cynewulf and Cyneheard as uncle and nephew respectively, at lines 1909-16 of his *Estoire des Engleis* (cf. also lines 1827-35):

[Cheol]wlf regnat vint e un an,	Cynewulf reigned twenty-one years.
Asez suffri peine e ahan;	He endured much pain and trouble.
A Wincestre la l'unt ported,	They carried him to Winchester,
Par grant honur l'unt enterred,	With great honour they buried him there.
E ses nevoz qui sunt ocis;	And his nephews who were killed,
A [Axemunstre] fud l'un mis,	One they placed at Axminster,
L'autre enterrerent a [Defurel],	The other they interred at Defurel
[Kenehard] ot nun li dancel.	Cyneheard was the youth's name.[20]

If this was indeed their relationship, then it must be assumed that they were paternal uncle and brother's son, since the Chronicle makes it clear that they are both related to Cerdic through their direct paternal ancestry. Now if this was known or believed to be their relationship from the earliest stages of the story's transmission, the fact that they were at odds with each other and caused each other's deaths would make their story all the more tragically ironic, since there is evidence for a special relationship between uncle and nephew in early Germanic society. Although the relationship between uncle and brother's son is less widely attested than that between uncle and sister's son,[21] the former relationship has been given some prominence recently by the discussion of whether or not it is implied in *Beowulf* that Hroþulf, the fraternal nephew of Hroðgar, king of the Danes, broke the peaceful association between himself and his paternal uncle implied by the word sib, which alliterates in *Beowulf*, as in *Widsið* (where its form is sibbe), with the word specifying their relationship (*Beowulf* 1164: suhtergefæderan; *Widsið* 46: suhtorfædran). Kenneth Sisam, indeed, argues persuasively against the view that this particular association came to be broken, and implies that the alliteration in these passages serves if anything to re-affirm the essentially peaceful and friendly nature of this type of relationship.[22] A comparable instance of alliteration, which Sisam does not mention, occurs at lines 1900-06 of *Genesis A*, where Abraham is speaking to his fraternal nephew Lot and where the Old English poet makes considerably more of this relationship than does his biblical source, where Abraham goes no further than to describe himself and Lot as "brethren" (*fratres*):

Ic eom fædera þin
sibgebyrdum, þu min suhterga.
ne sceolon unc betweonan teonan weaxan,
wroht wriðian — ne þæt wille god —

> Ac wit synt gemagas. unc gemæne ne sceal
> elles awiht nymþe ealltela
> lufu langsumu . . .[23]

This is not the place to enter into the discussion of Hroþulf's alleged treachery, Sisam's rejection of which has been re-affirmed with additional supporting evidence by Gerald Morgan.[24] What can be said here, however, is that, in the case of *Beowulf*, while there is no doubt of the nature of the family relationship between Hroðgar and Hroþulf, there is considerable doubt as to whether this relationship ever became hostile; whereas in the case of C&C, while there is no doubt of the mutual hostility of Cynewulf and Cyneheard and of the fact that they were related, there is some doubt, though also some evidence, that their family relationship was the same as that of Hroðgar and Hroþulf. If this evidence can be accepted, then the adjective "tragic", which is applied so often and so dubiously to the subject-matter of the *Beowulf* and *Widsið* references,[25] is given an additional appropriateness in its application to C&C.[26] Whatever the precise nature of his kinship with Cyneheard, Cynewulf's loyalties may be seen as divided between kinship with the brothers Sigebryht and Cyneheard on the one hand and a sense of what is right for the kingdom on the other, the latter consideration causing him to expel Sigebryht for his wicked deeds (ll.1-2); while Cyneheard's loyalties, it may be assumed, are divided between kinship with Cynewulf on the one hand and, on the other, a claim to the throne through being the brother of the former king Sigebryht, whom Cynewulf had deposed. It is against this background that the position of the kinsmen fighting on opposing sides must be understood.

Perhaps the best-known instance of a tragic conflict between kinsmen in the Icelandic sagas is the one culminating in chapter 49 of *Laxdœla saga* in the slaying by Bolli of his first cousin Kjartan at the instigation of Bolli's wife Guðrún, whose motivation is basically jealousy born of unappeased love for Kjartan. Kjartan and Bolli are not uncle and nephew (though "their direct paternal ancestry" goes back to a certain Höskuldr) and the reasons for the hostility between them are quite different from those behind the mutual enmity of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, but one of the loyalties confronting each of them and conflicting with another loyalty (in this case love) is that of kinship.[27] In this respect their story may be compared with C&C. Less well-known, though more relevant to C&C, is the potential conflict of loyalties between a paternal uncle and brother's son hinted at in chapter 19 of *Vatnsdœla saga*, where a certain Sæmundr hears from a neighbour of the misbehaviour (perhaps comparable to the "wicked deeds" of Sigebryht) on the part of his fraternal nephew Hrolleifr. When he comments that no great harm would be done if villains such as Hrolleifr were slain, he is reminded of the ties of kinship and the duty of vengeance when the neighbour points out that he would think differently if this actually happened in the case under discussion.[28]

It is chiefly, however, against the background of the assumption that the Icelandic sagas are predominantly oral in origin that C&C has been compared with them. Since this assumption has been

very seriously challenged in the course of this century - mainly from the mid-nineteen-thirties onwards[29] - it is perhaps surprising that it has been used so frequently and persistently as a basis for the comparison, even until quite recently. In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that the recognition of the contribution of oral tradition to the composition of the Icelandic sagas has never been wholly abandoned, and has, indeed, been re-asserted with considerable forthrightness in the course of the past decade.[30] The earliest instance I have been able to find of the comparison of C&C with the Icelandic sagas is in the first edition of Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, published in 1876, where Sweet drew attention to the change from indirect to direct speech in C&C, pointing out that such changes were frequent in Icelandic;[31] and in 1881 Richard Heinzel listed this feature as one of the characteristics of oral style in the Icelandic family sagas, quoting the relevant part of C&C as a comparable Old English example.[32] Plummer in 1899 described the annal for 755 as the one "which most recalls" the Icelandic sagas, and suggested that it, like them, "may have been developed orally before it was written down".[33] E.V. Gordon, in the first edition of his *Introduction to Old Norse* (1927), described a saga as "originally an oral prose story" and mentioned C&C as an example of "an Anglo-Saxon saga".[34] Francis P. Magoun in 1933 compared the prose of C&C with that of "the Icelandic historical and family sagas" briefly and unspecifically;[35] and R.H. Hodgkin in 1935 suggested that C&C was "orally handed down in vivid and colloquial prose after the manner of the Icelandic sagas".[36] In his *Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (1939), C.E. Wright partly defined "saga" as a "story that has crystallized in the course of its oral transmission (in prose form)",[37] and suggested that Icelandic literature offered many parallels to C&C, which he discussed as the one surviving vernacular example of an Anglo-Saxon saga.[38] In 1940 C.L. Wrenn, following up Magoun's hint, discussed C&C as "A saga of the Anglo Saxons", defining a saga as "a narrative in prose treating some well-known historical family or hero in a more or less fixed, orally controlled style, handed down in a tradition consciously and carefully preserved, and finally committed to writing".[39] Despite the strong and largely valid criticisms of Wrenn's arguments two years later by G. Turville-Petre, in an article which deserves to be better-known than it seems in fact to be,[40] Wrenn repeated his arguments in summarized form, and with no reference to G. Turville-Petre, in his *Study of Old English Literature* (1967).[41] G. Turville-Petre's "Notes on the Intellectual History of the Icelanders" (1942) led him to the conclusion that the "five or six generations of learning and literary study, native and European", which lay behind the Icelandic family sagas, made it "improbable that the sagas can supply many examples of pure oral style".[42] Roger Fowler gives some weight to Wright's views on C&C in relation to the Icelandic sagas in his selection of *Old English Prose and Verse* (1966),[43] in which the story is included, while the 1971 revision of *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, which also includes it, points out similarities of theme, motif, tone and style between it and the Icelandic family sagas, and refers generally in this context to the view that the story "may have been developed and transmitted orally for some time before being written down in its present form".[44] The views of Joan Turville-Petre,

whose article "The Narrative Style in Old English" (1974) refers to the Icelandic sagas in connection with C&C, will be discussed below.[45]

To test the validity of this comparison, it will be necessary to examine the extent to which features of oral narrative are present in C&C, and to keep in mind while doing so those features of such narrative which have been found in the Icelandic sagas. Richard Heinzel's *Beschreibung der isländischen Saga* (1881)[46] may serve as a basis for investigating the style of the story from this point of view; while for investigating its form use will be made of the various writings on the "laws" of oral narrative by Axel Olrik, many of whose examples are taken from the Icelandic sagas.[47] The uniqueness in Old English literature of C&C, emphasized in particular by Joan Turville-Petre,[48] means that we have nothing with which to compare it in looking for a similarity of style between it and other works in Old English which might point to the kind of stylistic uniformity which Knut Liestøl regarded as a mark of the predominantly oral background to the Icelandic family sagas.[49] Features of its style of the kind listed by Heinzel as characteristic of oral narrative are what must rather be looked for. It should be noted that Heinzel's examples are exclusively from the family sagas, and thus do not by any means account for the entire range of Icelandic saga literature, though it is to be hoped that the thoroughness of his investigation of that particular type of saga provides sufficient grounds for cautious generalization about other types as well. He gives two lists of ways in which oral style reveals itself in the sagas, one under the heading of "Language",[50] the other under that of "Aesthetic Effect".[51] The second may be taken first.

Heinzel begins by drawing attention to the characteristic failure of oral narrative to mention a physical gesture made in the course of direct speech by one of the characters, even though it is clear from what is said that such a gesture forms part of the narrative. In such cases it is left to the narrator himself to make the gesture. There is no example of this in C&C, which contains only one brief passage of direct speech (at 11.40-1); this passage follows on immediately from one in indirect speech and does, indeed, itself appear as indirect in three out of the five relevant manuscripts (see textual note 88, above). If the A and C manuscripts are followed, however, and it is taken as direct speech, there is no denying that it *could* be accompanied in oral delivery by a gesture of some kind on the part of the narrator, but it is not necessary for an understanding of the passage to assume that it was meant to be; nor is there anything in the text to warrant such an assumption.

Heinzel next mentions phrasal repetition as a feature of oral narrative, particularly in cases of scene-change, where the narrative uses a particular phrase in shifting its concern from one character to another, and then returns to the first character with the use of the same phrase. There is one not very convincing example of this particular type of repetition in C&C; first the verb adræfan is used in the sentence reporting Cynewulf's expulsion of Sigebryht: and hiene þa Cynewulf on Andred adræfde (11.4-5); then the fortunes of Sigebryht are followed until his slaying; and then, when Cynewulf again becomes the subject of the narrative's concern, it is stated that he often fought great battles against the Britons and that,

after he had ruled for thirty-one years, he wished to expel - wolde adræfan, 1.9 - Sigebryht's brother Cyneheard. Further instances of phrasal repetition will be given below.

Heinzel next mentions as an oral feature the explicit announcement of scene-changes, such as is found, for instance, in the first chapter of *Njáls saga*; "Now the saga moves west to Breiðafjarðadalir . . .". This is not found in C&C, though a number of places are mentioned by name, and the locations of events are for the most part clear. The one exception to this is the whereabouts of Cynewulf's followers other than those who were with him at Merantun at the point when these others hear the news of his death there; they had evidently been "left behind" by Cynewulf (11.26-7, 29-30), but it is not stated where. It is fair to add that, with one possible exception, discussed below, sufficient information is given for a clear understanding of the events at Merantun; John Earle's description of "the arrangements of a Saxon residence", quoted by Plummer,[52] may be necessary for a modern reader, but would have been superfluous for the earliest hearers or readers of the story.

Heinzel's next item, which involves on the one hand the omission, and on the other the repetition, of expressions with such meanings as "he said" either introducing or following passages of direct speech, is not relevant to C&C, where the only passage of direct speech occurs as a continuation of an indirect statement, as indicated above.

Heinzel's next item may be called reference backward, the repetition of information which the narrator has apparently forgotten he has given earlier. It is tempting to include as an example of this tendency of oral narrative the repeated reference in C&C to Cynewulf's reign of thirty-one years (11.8-9, 46), but great caution must be exercised here. One of the exceptional features of the annal for 755 is the fact that, in dealing with Cynewulf and Cyneheard, it is dealing with events dating from some thirty years after the year with which it is ostensibly concerned; the story of these later events appears to have been inserted into the annal for 755 (correct date 757) because of its connection with Cynewulf's partial deposition of Sigebryht, which is clearly stated to have taken place then.[53] It is obvious that the inserted narrative ends after the reference to the paternal ancestry of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, when the annalist returns to the year of Sigebryht's partial deposition, with the phrase And þy ilcan geare . . . (1.50); what is not so obvious, however, is precisely at what stage of the annal the inserted narrative begins. The wording of the annal is such as to allow the conclusion that, while the partial deposition of Sigebryht clearly took place in the year with which the annal is primarily meant to be dealing (i.e. 755, correct date 757), the events described subsequently to this and prior to the outbreak of hostilities between Cynewulf and Cyneheard twenty-nine years later could well have taken place at different stages during the long intervening period. These are Sigebryht's retention of Hampshire until he slew the loyal ealdorman; his expulsion by Cynewulf into Andred; his death at the hand of a swineherd in revenge for the ealdorman's death; and Cynewulf's frequent battles against the Britons. The important question for present purposes is not so much

when precisely these events took place as whether they were originally intended to form part of this annal, or whether they constitute part of the insertion.[54] If the former, then it is unlikely that the repeated reference to thirty-one years is a feature of oral narrative of the kind described by Heinzel; it is more likely to represent an attempt by the chronicler to adapt the story of later events to the relatively early annalistic environment into which he is fitting it, and in this case the repetition would be an example of the "loose organization" which Olrik sees as one of the surest marks of literary cultivation.[55] If the latter, on the other hand, then the repetition would have been present in the narrative in whatever form it became available to the annalist for insertion, and the possibility remains open that it was originally of the kind characteristic of oral narrative.

The next feature listed by Heinzel may be called reference forward, the temporary interruption of the narrative to refer forward to events which take place later than those with which it is immediately concerned. These later events may or may not be dealt with at a subsequent stage of the narrative. The only possible example of this in C&C is the account outlined above of the events leading up to Sigebryht's death, some of which could have taken place after the first of Cynewulf's battles against the Britons, mentioned in the following sentence. However, it cannot be said that the narrative is needlessly interrupted here, as is sometimes the case in Heinzel's examples from the sagas.[56] Although it is not made clear precisely why Cynewulf later wishes to expel Cyneheard, it is presumably because he sees the latter, as Sigebryht's brother, as a rival claimant to the throne;[57] and the potential danger to Cynewulf from Cyneheard as a rival would be all the greater once the former king Sigebryht, whom Cynewulf had deposed, was dead. This consideration, if accepted, makes it quite appropriate for the narrative to make clear to the reader or listener that Sigebryht is already dead before the conflict between Cynewulf and Cyneheard is introduced, as it is with the mention of Cynewulf's wish to expel Cyneheard in the sentence immediately following the one about Cynewulf's battles against the Britons. This latter sentence should, moreover, probably be regarded as a comment on Cynewulf's qualities as a king rather than as referring to events which have been partly anticipated chronologically by those previously reported.

Heinzel next mentions the frequent assumption in oral narrative that details of a piece of information already given are known to the listener, even though they have not in fact been mentioned. There is one obvious example of this in C&C: the name of the ealdorman slain by Sigebryht, Cumbra, is given only when the ealdorman is mentioned for the second time, when an awareness of who is meant seems to be assumed. Another possible example, which depends, however, on whether the manuscripts B and C (as opposed to A, D, and E) are followed, emerges when it is noticed that these two manuscripts refer to the building surrounded by Cyneheard and his followers when surprising Cynewulf at Merantun as þa burh, "the fortress", rather than as bone bur, "the lady's bower" (see l.13 and textual note 28, above). If this reading were accepted, the detail of the door to which Cynewulf goes to defend himself (l.15) would need to be

explained, since the word duru, as Earle makes clear, is used for "the entrance to any of the enclosed buildings" as opposed to that of the fortress as a whole. It would thus be left to the reader or listener to conclude that Cyneheard's men had made their way through the outer gate of the fortress to the door of the lady's bower. However, the reading (þone bur) of the A, D and E manuscripts is almost certainly the correct one.[58] As indicated above, the locations of the events at Merantun (a name which itself implies an enclosed, fortified area)[59] need give rise to no further confusion, provided the lay-out of the place is understood. Any possible confusion arising out of the use of pronouns in the account of the parley between Cyneheard and Cynewulf's second group of followers (ll.32-41) will be dealt with below.

Characteristic also of oral reporting, according to Heinzel, is the economy with which the narrator's opinions and feelings are conveyed, and the strong impression they nevertheless make when they are expressed, however briefly. It is certainly true that, in C&C, the impression made by the opinions and feelings of the author or narrator is all the stronger for the brevity and infrequency with which they are expressed. The brief reference to the wicked deeds of Sigebryht (l.2), and the statement that he slew the ealdorman who stood by him longest (ll.3-4), are enough to convey a strongly negative impression of his kingship and character, while a correspondingly positive one of Cynewulf's is sufficiently conveyed by the brief statement that he often fought great battles against the Britons (ll.7-8), and by the adverb unheanlice, "nobly", used to describe his self-defence at the door of the lady's bower at Merantun (l.16). However, while something of a contrast between Sigebryht and Cynewulf is established by these expressions, it should not be thought that a contrast is similarly established between Cynewulf and Cyneheard, as seems to be partly implied by Tom H. Towers's remarks,[60] since no overt comment is made on Cyneheard's character at any stage of the annal.

Turning now to the more specifically linguistic features of oral style noted by Heinzel,[61] we may begin by drawing attention to instances of phrasal repetition other than the one involving a scene-change, noted above. The most pronounced of these in C&C is perhaps the way the present participle feohtende is used three times with the verb "to be" to form a past continuous tense.[62] This usage is in each case followed by a subordinating conjunction meaning "until" which introduces the report of a death - in the first case that of Cynewulf (ll.18-19); in the second that of Cynewulf's first group of followers at Merantun, apart from the hostage (ll.24-5); and in the third that of Cyneheard and his followers, apart from the godson of ealdorman Osric (ll.42-5). The repeated phrase thus serves to underline the tragic similarity of the climaxes of the three fights at Merantun, as Hodgkin's treatment of this part of the story helps to show.[63] Another instance of repetition is the way the phrase þa men þe he beæftan him læfde ær (ll.29-30) virtually repeats the earlier phrase þæs cyninges þegnas þe him beæftan wærun (ll.26-7); this is clearly a case of phrasal repetition, even if a semantic distinction is here intended between þegnas ("thanes") and men ("the rank and file").[64] It differs from the other case just

noted, however, in making relatively little structural contribution to the narrative; and it would, indeed, be possible to remove the later phrase (together with the and introducing it) without seriously disturbing the sense of the passage. Repetition involving redundancy of expression seems, however, to be as much a feature of the oral mode as the repetition which underlines the similarity of successive episodes.[65] The adverb clause bær se cyning ofslægen læg (11.30-31), which largely repeats the earlier noun clause þæt se cyning ofslægen wæs (1.27), is perhaps not strictly necessary, either, to an understanding of the passage, though it does clarify the fact that Cyneheard has not left Merantun since his victory over Cynewulf and his retinue, and also serves to hint strongly at the motivation of vengeance lying behind the arrival of Osric's party at Merantun. Repetition is also evident, finally, in the way the followers of Cyneheard who are related to members of Osric's party respond to the latter's offer of a safe-conduct. They explain that a similar offer had been made to the king's men (and refused): þæt tæt ilce hiera geferum geboden wære, þe ær mid þam cyninge wærun (11.38-9); and then go on to say that they do not care for such an offer 'þon ma þe eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wærun' (11.40-41). This repetition, as Joan Turville-Petre shows, serves "to enforce the parallelism of the two fights",[66] that is to say, of the second and third fights at Merantun. It may thus be compared with the threefold repetition of feohtende, etc., in having a structural function.

Heinzel next points out the tendency for a noun occurring as the subject in one sentence to be repeated as such in the sentence immediately following, even though the use of a pronoun in the second sentence would be quite unambiguous. The only conceivable example of this in C&C is the sentence and se Cyneheard wæs þæs Sigebryhtes broþur following on from the phrase anne æþeling se wæs Cyneheard haten (11.9-11). This case differs from Heinzel's examples, however, in that the proper noun Cyneheard occurs first not as a subject, but as part of the predicate in a relative clause, and in the fact that the noun repeated in the following sentence is preceded there by a co-ordinating conjunction and by a demonstrative pronoun. In the majority of Heinzel's examples, moreover, the second sentence does not have an explanatory function, as here, but is reporting the next stage of the narrative.[67]

Heinzel next mentions the frequent tendency for sentences to be introduced with a pronominal subject where a connective meaning "and" would be sufficient. His examples from Old Icelandic each contain a continuous series of short sentences following on from one in which a person is introduced by name (but with the noun maðr, meaning "a man", as the strict grammatical subject). These sentences each begin with the third person pronoun hann and are not linked by any connective either to each other or to the initial sentence.[68] There is nothing quite comparable to this in C&C, though there are occasional examples of the third person pronoun being used as a subject where it could be omitted, since it is linked by the connective and to a preceding clause or sentence which has the same subject. The most obvious example of this occurs in the co-ordinate clauses And þa ongeat se cyning þæt, and he on þa duru eode (11.15-

16); others, perhaps more doubtful (because intervening material might here make reference back to the subject necessary) are, on the one hand: oþ þæt hiene an swan ofstang . . . and he wræc þone aldormon . . . (11.5-7), and, on the other: se Cynewulf oft miclum gefeohtum feaht uuiþ Bretwalum; and . . . he wolde adræfan anne æþeling . . . (11.7-10). More doubtful still, because it is not certain here whether the subject of the sentence introduced by he is the same as that of the preceding clause (i.e. the godson as opposed to the ealdorman) is: se wæs þæs aldormonnes godsunu, and he his feorh generede (11.44-5).[69] On the whole, however, it is striking how often the subject pronoun is omitted when and is used in this way, as the following examples show: . . . and hine þær berad (11.12-13); . . . and þa unheanlice hine werede (1.16); . . . and þone æþeling on þære byrig metton (1.30); . . . and þone æþeling ofslogon (1.43). The B, D and E manuscripts, as opposed to A and C, provide another example in having . . . and him cyþde, etc., as opposed to . . . and him cyþdon (see 1.34, textual note 75).

Heinzel next mentions "ellipses", which include the omission of the indicative and subjunctive forms of the auxiliary verbs "to be" and "to have". Heinzel here refers to section 185 of G.F.V. Lund's *Oldnordisk ordföjningslære* (1862), where it is stated that the Old Norse auxiliary hafa ("to have") may be omitted when a verbal form with auxiliary vera ("to be") precedes the context in which auxiliary hafa would normally be used. Lund's examples of the omission of hafa, which are from poetry as well as prose, seem to show, however, that the conditions under which this verb may be omitted as an auxiliary are not in fact as restricted as his statement suggests; and his examples, taken together with Heinzel's, also show that in certain circumstances (which may perhaps be loosely termed "rhythmical") omission of the verb hafa in a possessive rather than an auxiliary sense may occur in Old Norse poetry and prose.[70] In C&C there are certainly no examples of the omission of the verb habban "to have", in a possessive sense; nor do there seem to be any cases of omission of habban ("to have") or of wesan ("to be") as auxiliaries. It may however be noted that, in the clause ær hine þa men onfunden þe mid þam kyninge wærun (11.13-14), the form onfunden, which is found in the A and D versions of the chronicle and which Roger Fowler correctly parses as the third person plural of the preterite subjunctive of the verb onfindan, is identical in form with the past participle of that verb;[71] and that, when used with habban, the past participle in Old English, whether or not it agrees with the object grammatically, may sometimes be taken as an adjectival expression referring to the object of habban (or indeed as an adverbial expression referring to the verb habban itself) rather than as a participle used, as more often in present-day English, to form a compound tense.[72] If these considerations are kept in mind, and if the instance of onfunden in the clause quoted is for the moment regarded as a past participle, it might seem as though there were an example here of omission of the verb "to have" as an auxiliary (in this case hæfdon), such as is sometimes found in subordinate clauses in modern German and Swedish,[73] and that the clause meant literally "before the men who were with the king had him (in a state of being) discovered". This is highly improbable, however, since this usage in German, from which the Swedish one

derives, does not appear to have become established until the sixteenth century,[74] and the usage is, moreover, primarily a characteristic of these languages as written rather than spoken, and for this reason hardly comparable to the omission of auxiliaries in Old Icelandic noted by Heinzel as a mark of oral style.

Still under the heading of "ellipses", Heinzel next mentions "the frequent omission [in the family sagas] of pronouns, prepositional phrases, and particles, by means of which references, connections, oppositions and motivations are expressed".[75] Here may be noted, in C&C, the omission of the pronoun subject in the co-ordinate clause and þa gatu him to belocen hæfdon (1.31; see textual notes 68-9, above); possibly also in the one immediately following it: and þa þær to eodon (1.32; if þa may be taken as an adverb here, as Joan Turville-Petre and others take it);[76] and certainly in the later one beginning and him cyþdon þæt . . . (1.34). In these three cases the subject is to a greater or lesser extent different from that of the immediately preceding co-ordinate clause; they are not comparable, therefore, to the examples of omission of the pronoun subject treated above. The omission of the preposition mid may also be noted here; this might reasonably be expected to occur, though with different meanings, before the phrases miclum gefeohtum (1.8; see textual note 11, above) and lytle werode (1.12).

In the same context, Heinzel goes on to say of the family sagas that "In a fluent modern translation it would at numerous points be necessary to insert such expressions as: also, there, then, (over) against, that is (as much as) to say, precisely, but, on the other hand, for (the reason that), thereby, before this, thereupon, etc., all of which exist in Icelandic as in other languages, but which are used in certain types of sentence and certain fields of literature more sparingly than in others"[77] - more sparingly, that is, in passages which reflect oral style. In his examples Heinzel quotes two passages containing instances of repetition which, because of the absence of expressions of the kind he has listed, have a somewhat staccato effect; he suggests that they would read less strangely if Icelandic particles such as ok (meaning "and") and enn (meaning "yet again", "further") were added. It may be noted that the German word *wider*, reproduced as "(over) against" in the list just quoted, may in combination with certain other elements occasionally convey the meaning "in return", "back (again)", as well as "against", "in the face of". Heinzel's subsequent mention of Icelandic enn may seem to raise the question of whether the word *wider* in his list is in fact a misprint for German *wieder*, meaning "again" rather than "against", though also having the meaning of "back (again)", "in return".[78] However this may be, it just so happens that in Joan Turville-Petre's translation of C&C, where she claims to "have kept as close as possible to the sentence structure of the original",[79] two of the most striking apparent additions to the original are in fact ones which have respectively the meanings of "against", "face to face with", on the one hand, and "back again", "in return", on the other. The former meaning occurs in the clause "until he came face to face with the prince" used to translate oþ he on þone æþeling locude (11.16-17), and the latter occurs in the expression "replied" used twice to translate the verb cuædon (11.35-38) in the

passage describing the parley at Merantun between Cyneheard's party and Cynewulf's second group of followers. Close reading of Joan Turville-Petre's article shows, however, that these expressions are not intended as semantic additions to the original; they reflect her view that the annal for 755 in the Parker Chronicle differs from the remainder of the early Chronicle (by which she means the annals A.D. 1-891, and more particularly 734-891, in the Parker manuscript) in, among other things, the fact that it uses the terminative conjunctions oþ and oþ þæt to indicate purpose or result or "cause inherent in the context", and in the fact that it "makes a distinction between the clause-connectives ond (sequence) and ond þa (new action)". The first of these differences explains the emphasis in her translation on Cynewulf's coming "face to face" with Cyneheard; this, for Cynewulf, was "the moment of decision", and his reason for abandoning his defence in the doorway in order to rush out at Cyneheard.[80] Joan Turville-Petre does not point out that her interpretation of this particular part of the annal finds some support in Aethelweard's Chronicle, which had access to a lost version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* relatively close to the original,[81] and which here reads . . . *ianuam prosiluit, defendit auide tela. Ast composita mente ruit super clitonem* . . .[82] The second of the differences just mentioned, the distinction made in this annal between and and and þa, helps to explain Joan Turville-Petre's use of the word "replied", with which she translates two instances of cuædon, the first of them (cuædon hie, 1.35) preceded by and þa, and the second (hie cuædon, 1.38) by and. The first of these usages makes it clear, after an offer made by Cyneheard and a remark made by Cyneheard and his followers (where the use in the latter case only of a plural form of the verb, cyþdon, 1.34, might give rise to confusion) that a new group of people (i.e. Cynewulf's second group of followers) is speaking; and the second shows the close connection (so close that no new action is involved) between the offer of the safe-conduct made by Cynewulf's supporters to their kinsmen on Cyneheard's side, and the reaction of the latter group to the offer. As Joan Turville-Petre points out, the reply of the kinsmen "is immediately annexed with ond (not set off by Ond þa, as a new event)".[83] Thus the use of the word "replied" in these two instances, while it may disguise the fact that two different clause-connectives are here used in the Old English, at least reflects with reasonable accuracy the meaning of the contexts in which they occur. These expressions, then, are not to be regarded as semantic additions to the original; they arise naturally out of what the translator believes to be the meaning of the text, and are not comparable to the kind of additions which Heinzel believes modern translators need to make to passages in Old Icelandic which have the staccato effect of an originally oral mode.

Indeed, while Joan Turville-Petre does not discuss the extent of the oral as opposed to the written background of the story as preserved in the Parker Chronicle, she seems to regard the stylistic features of it to which she draws attention as reflecting a literary rather than an oral development. As already indicated, she finds that C&C shows a more elaborate use of clause-connectives than is found elsewhere in the early Chronicle, the style of which in general

she describes as basically "'paratactic' in the sense that 'and' is the chief connective, and the only common subordinate clauses are those of time, content (introduced by 'that'), and definition (relative)". "This kind of style", she goes on to say, "was developed by the writers of the Icelandic family sagas, and taken about as far as it could go". She suggests that the style of the early chronicle, while "it cannot be compared with the Icelandic in range or complexity", is nevertheless "capable of similar development", and that development of a kind does take place in C&C, the style of which is "more complex than the norm of the early Chronicle",[84] exacting "a higher frequency of the connectives used sparingly in the annals".[85] Unfortunately, however, she does not compare this stylistic development with that of the Icelandic family sagas, except to the extent of noting the compression of the sentence in which Cyneheard is said to have heard by enquiry of Cynewulf's presence at Merantun (and þa geascode he þone cyning lytle werode on wifcyþþe on Merantune, ll.11-12), and later mentioning that "Marked grammatical compression [in the family sagas] is commonly taken as a refinement, though not always a happy one".[86] Her remarks suggest that, while she may not find the Icelandic and the Old English developments directly comparable, both of them, in her view, are primarily literary; she uses the terms "writer" and "deliberate stylist" for whoever created, with only "a restricted choice of grammatical connectives", the "pattern of cause and effect"[87] which makes up C&C, and concludes that its style was "appropriate to a literary form which does not seem to have been developed".[88]

Once the functions in C&C of the connectives and and and þa, as described by Joan Turville-Petre, have been recognized, there is relatively little need for the bracketed explanations of "who's who" which so many of its translators have found necessary in rendering into modern English the passage describing the parley between Cyneheard's party and Cynewulf's second group of followers. If the plural form cyþdon (l.34) in this passage is accepted as the correct reading, the and introducing it (without a subject pronoun) shows that the verb indicates, in Joan Turville-Petre's phrase, "the continuation or development of a decisive event"[89] (in this case Cyneheard's offer of terms as reported in the sentence beginning And þa gebead he . . . , l.32), and that the understood subject is Cyneheard and his followers. In the sentence reporting the offer of a safe-conduct by Cynewulf's supporters to their kinsmen on the side of Cyneheard (ll.36-7) it is perhaps necessary to make clear that although the verb budon is introduced by and þa, indicating a new action, its subject (hie) refers to the same group of people (i.e. Cynewulf's supporters) as does that of the main verb (cuædon, l.35) of the preceding sentence; though the action is new, those responsible for it are still the same. Finally, it needs to be understood that the subject pronoun hie in the phrase and hie cuædon (l.38), which begins the sentence following the one just discussed (in which the safe-conduct is offered) does not refer to the same people as the subject of that sentence; it refers to the rejectors, rather than to the makers, of the offer. Although "sequence",[90] as indicated by and, is indeed present here, the sequence in question is that of a reply to an offer, rather than furtherance of the same

event.

Apart from in this passage, it is striking how few additions to the original have been made by modern translators of all or part of C&C; Benjamin Thorpe's translation of 1861,[91] and Earle's partial one of 1890,[92] show indeed how little really needs to be added even in translating this passage, where it is not so much the omission of pronouns as the use of them in preference to more specific designations which is likely to cause confusion. In general, the modern translations of the story show very few additions of the kind listed by Heinzel as necessary for adapting to a modern reader's taste passages of Old Icelandic which show the relative disconnectedness of an originally oral style. What additions there are in the modern translations turn out on close inspection to be mostly superfluous. The possessive "his", for instance, is added by most translators in rendering the phrase for unryhtum dædum (l.2) as "for his unrighteous deeds", etc., but the translations of G.N. Garmonsway ("for unlawful actions")[93] and Towers ("because of unlawful deeds")[94] show this to be superfluous. Hodgkin, furthermore, adds a superfluous "all" in translating buton Hamtunscire (ll.2-3) as "all save Hampshire".[95] A tendency to make the style less abrupt by translating the preterite with a pluperfect is apparent in the way Thorpe, Towers, Battaglia,[96] and James H. Wilson[97] translate the clause þe him lengest wunode (ll.3-4), though there is no reason why the preterite should not be retained in a modern translation (the case of ofslægen wæs, 1.27, translated by Dorothy Whitelock as "had been slain",[98] is rather different, since here the passive construction emphasizes "the state arising from the action",[99] for which a pluperfect translation seems quite appropriate). Instead of simply rendering and . . . þa as "and . . . then" in the sentence and hine þa Cynewulf on Andred adræfde (ll.4-5), Wilson gives the phrase "for this murder", without allowing the reader to work out for himself the question of whether such a translation is necessary, or even accurate. Some have translated the sentence and he wræc þone aldormon Cumbran (ll.6-7) by presenting the verb as an infinitive of purpose ("to avenge the ealdorman . . ."; see Magoun's[100] and Hodgkin's translations) or as a present participle with "thus" or "thereby" (see Wilson, Garmonsway), and others by keeping the simple form of the past tense but adding either "thus" (Wright)[101] or bracketed explanations of who is involved (see Wrenn,[102] Charles Moorman,[103] Towers); whereas Whitelock and Joan Turville-Petre adapt the original only to the extent of giving a progressive form of the past tense, with "and he was avenging (the) ealdorman Cumbra".[104] Here, it must be admitted, some such adaptation is perhaps necessary in order to convey that this sentence is an explanation of the content of the subordinate clause immediately preceding it: oþ þæt hiene an swan ofstang æt Pryfetes flodan (ll.5-6). Henry Petrie conveys this adequately by omission rather than addition; he simply omits the pronoun while retaining the preterite tense: "and avenged the ealdorman Cumbra".[105] It may be noted that Wright, beginning with the sentence and þa geascode he . . . (l.11), which incidentally he translates as a temporal clause, uses "but" more than once as a translation of and, which most other translators have found unnecessary. Towers adds a "then" in translating the phrase and

hine þær berad (11.12-13) which follows the sentence reporting Cyneheard's discovery of Cynewulf's whereabouts, and Earle substitutes "there" for "then" in translating and þa unheanlice hine werede (1.16), no doubt intending to emphasize the fact, made clear in the preceding sentence, that Cynewulf is defending himself in the doorway of the bur. Both additions seem superfluous. It is doubtful, moreover, how far the phrase hiera nænig (1.23) has the emphatic meaning of "not one of them" which Petrie, Thorpe, Earle, Hodgkin, Towers and Whitelock give it; and Hodgkin's addition of the phrase "the main body of" in translating þæs cyninges þegnas (1.26) is by no means essential as an explanation of which group of Cynewulf's followers is in question, since it has already been made clear that the first group, apart from one man, has died with him at Merantun, and, if there is any doubt on the point, the clause þe him beæftan wærun (1.27; translated by Hodgkin as "who had been left behind") and later amplified by the clause and þa men þe he beæftan him læfde ær, 11.29-30, makes it quite clear that a second group, based elsewhere, is meant. In translating this latter clause, and also, in some cases, the rather later one þe ær mid þam cyninge wærun (1.39), Petrie and other translators add adverbial expressions meaning "previously" to the pluperfect tense, whereas either the pluperfect alone, or the adverbial expressions with the preterite, would have been sufficient. Wrenn adds a superfluous "all" in translating and þa men þe him mid wæron alle butan anum (11.43-4) as "and all the men who were with him, all except one"; and the simple word oft (1.46), meaning "often", hardly seems to require the translation "again and again", and "in many places", which Magoun and Wright give it respectively.

Wrenn's addition in brackets of "there was" (after "and") in translating the phrase and his aldormon Osric which immediately follows the sentence þa ridon hie þider (1.28) leads naturally to a discussion of the next feature of oral style listed by Heinzel: the tendency for part of a sentence to be indicated first by a pronoun and later by a noun. Wrenn's placing of "there was" with the verb in the singular before the phrase his aldormon Osric seems to leave in a loose grammatical context the two co-ordinate phrases immediately following the mention of Osric: and Wiferþ his þegn, and þa men þe he beæftan him læfde ær (11.28-30), whereas Joan Turville-Petre's translation, which seems to have the support of Magoun's, Wright's, and Whitelock's, accounts satisfactorily for these two phrases in relation to the one about Osric by taking the introductory and of the latter phrase as a co-ordinating adverb meaning "both", and the two following instances of and as co-ordinating conjunctions meaning "and . . . and also".[106] All three phrases are thus clearly seen as in apposition to the pronoun hie. If this is accepted, then the passage may be regarded as an example of what Heinzel is here discussing, though it should be pointed out that, while the nouns in Heinzel's examples from Icelandic may sometimes occur, as here, in a co-ordinate series, no such series from among his examples is ever introduced (i.e. preceded) by a co-ordinating adverb (meaning, for instance, "both", or "not only") as this one seems to be.[107] It is of course conceivable that the use of and in this series may be intended to separate Osric and Wiferþ from the remainder of the group

in some way, perhaps indicating that they approached Merantun by a route or routes different from that travelled by the party referred to in the phrase þa men þe he beæftan him læfde ær (11.29-30). This possibility is off-set, however, by the fact that this phrase is a virtual repetition of the one in the preceding sentence: þæs cyninges þegnas þe him beæftan wærun (11.26-7), to which the pronoun hie (1.28) refers.[108] This last consideration, incidentally, brings up another difference between the Old English passage and its Icelandic parallels, for whereas here the referent of the pronoun is already sufficiently clear from the immediately preceding context, this is by no means always the case in the Old Icelandic examples quoted by Heinzel.[109]

Heinzel's next category is what he calls "abandonment of the construction", to which he gives the plural heading "anacolutha" in his table of contents.[110] He seems particularly concerned here with instances in the family sagas of the infinitive being used in a subordinate clause where the subjunctive has been used in a subordinate clause which precedes it, and with which it is co-ordinate. C&C has no examples of anacoluthon in this sense (which might indeed be hard to find elsewhere in Old English), though if "anacoluthon" is taken to mean "an instance of anacoluthia" in the relatively broad sense of "want of strict grammatical coherence",[111] a number of examples of it may be found there. It is presumably in this sense that Sweet is using the word in describing the style of C&C as "full of anacoluthons".[112] In the opening sentence of the annal, the plural expression West Seaxna wiotan seems to have been tacked on by the conjunction and to the end of the sentence Her Cynewulf benam Sigebryht his rices and thus co-ordinated with the subject of that sentence, which, however, is singular and takes a singular form of the verb. Although all the translations I have seen take the singular and plural expressions together as a joint plural subject of the sentence, a pedantically accurate translation ought, perhaps, strictly to read: "In this year Cynewulf deprived Sigebryht of his kingdom, and (so did) the councillors of the West Saxons . . .". Attention has already been drawn to the sentence and þa geascode he þone cyning lytle werode on wifcyþþe on Merantune (11.11-12) where, as Joan Turville-Petre shows, the verb geascode, meaning "found out by enquiry", which it might be thought would be followed by a clause of noun or adverb type, in fact seems to have þone cyning as a direct object, followed by three adverbial phrases as complements to that object.[113] It is conceivable, however, that the sentence should be viewed differently, that is, as an example of an accusative and infinitive construction with the construction "abandoned" insofar as the infinitive (of a verb meaning "to be") has been omitted; if so, then þone cyning would be not so much a direct object as a subject accusative participating in a construction of this type with the infinitive understood and the adverbial phrases as predicate.[114] If this suggestion were accepted, it might mean that this sentence was less an example of "exploitation of grammar" than Joan Turville-Petre claims, and closer to the characteristics of oral style than her remarks imply.[115] The suggestion is open to doubt, however, and should not be pressed too far. A much clearer instance of anacoluthon is the confusion of number in the co-ordinate clause and þa þider

urnon swa hwelc swa þonne gearo wearþ . . . (1.21), where the pronominal expression swa hwelc swa, meaning "whoever" and occurring in the singular, has a plural predicate preceding it. This example is, indeed, comparable to the first two cases listed by F.S. Cawley under the heading of "anacoluthon" in his discussion of the "oral style" of *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*.[116] The somewhat loose construction of the sentence describing Cynewulf's supporters riding to Merantun (ll.28-30) has been dealt with above.[117] Notice should be taken here of the use of the subjunctive nære in the sentence and þa cuædon hie þæt him nænig mæg leofra nære þonne hiera hlaford, and of the indicative noldon in the immediately following co-ordinate clause, and hie næfre his banan folgian noldon (ll.35-7). If this clause can be seen as co-ordinate with the noun clause (introduced by þæt) of the preceding sentence, and hence itself a noun clause, then the sentence provides an example of anacoluthon in that the subjunctive used in the initial subordinate clause is replaced by the indicative in the one following and co-ordinate with it. Fluctuation between the subjunctive and the indicative is common enough in Old English noun clauses, and often of small significance semantically, as Bruce Mitchell makes clear, but his examples do not include instances of such fluctuation occurring in noun clauses co-ordinate with each other.[118] It is just possible, however, that the clause and hie næfre his banan folgian noldon (ll.36-7) may be co-ordinate not with the subordinate clause, introduced by þæt, in the preceding sentence, but with the main clause of that sentence, and þa cuædon hie (l.35). In this case, there is nothing illogical about the use of the indicative noldon in the co-ordinate clause, and anacoluthon cannot be said to be present.

Heinzel's final category is the change from indirect to direct speech, of which there is one example in C&C - an example which, however, occurs only in manuscripts A and C; the other relevant ones (i.e. B, D, and E) present the passage in question as an example of sustained indirect statement. This is, of course, the sentence þa cuædon hie þæt hie hie þæs ne onmunden 'þon ma þe eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wærun' (ll.40-41). Heinzel distinguishes among his Icelandic examples between, on the one hand, those in which the change to direct speech does not occur until an indirect statement, or an accusative and infinitive construction, appears to have first been completed, and, on the other, those in which such constructions are, as it were, interrupted and continued by elements which logically belong to direct speech. He seems to regard the example from C&C - to which he refers briefly in a footnote[119] - as comparable to the latter category, even though the indirect statement - þa cuædon hie þæt hie hie þæs ne onmunden (l.40) - could be regarded as complete in itself. His reason for this is presumably that he sees the indirect report of what was actually said as incomplete; what was said, apparently, was not simply: "we do not care for that", but "we care for that no more than did your companions who were slain with the king". Although it is hardly relevant to C&C, it may be noted for the sake of completeness that Heinzel goes on to speak under this heading of cases in the sagas where information which, in the context, ought strictly to be given in direct speech by one of the characters, is in fact

provided by the author, but is nevertheless referred to in a subsequent passage of direct (or occasionally indirect) speech as though it had been given earlier by the speaker. Heinzel distinguishes cases of this kind from those in which a passage of direct speech placed in the mouth of a saga-character is interrupted by a parenthetical statement by the author.

The foregoing analysis, then, has failed to reveal much in the text of C&C that is closely comparable to the features of oral style listed by Heinzel as characteristic of the Icelandic family sagas. It should be recognized, however, that C&C is very much shorter than the average Icelandic saga,[120] and can hardly be expected to show all these features, or large numbers of any one of them. The ones most clearly exemplified in it are: the apparent assumption that sufficient information has been given, the economy with which feelings and opinions are expressed, phrasal repetition, anacoluthon, and the change from indirect to direct speech. Thus, while the evidence for oral style in C&C is not particularly striking, it is not so slight as to rule out the possibility that the story has retained some features from an oral stage of its transmission.

Turning now from the style to the characteristic form of oral narrative, we may look in C&C for examples of the "laws" of such narrative defined by Axel Olrik and so-called because, in his view, "they limit the freedom of composition of oral literature in a much different and more rigid way than in our written literature".[121] Olrik's findings on this subject were first published in extended form in Danish in 1908;[122] then in a somewhat altered form in 1909 in a German version[123] of which an English translation has since been published by Alan Dundes in his *Study of Folklore* (1965),[124] and then in their fullest form in a Danish version of 1921, based on an unfinished manuscript and appearing four years after Olrik's death.[125] Dundes could write in 1965 that these findings had "withstood the criticisms of the passing years and . . . continue to excite each new generation of folklorists,"[126] and in 1976 David Buchan made use of them in studying the background of the Scottish ballads in oral and literary tradition.[127] It should be noted that Olrik's examples are by no means restricted to the Icelandic family sagas (as Heinzel's are), or even to Icelandic literature; and that he seems to find fewer examples of the laws in the family sagas (*Íslendinga sögur*)[128] than in the sagas of antiquity (*fornaldarsögur*), particularly *Völsunga saga*, *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, and *Hrólfs saga kraka*. The present analysis will be based on the 1921 version of his study, with occasional glances at the earlier versions; and to facilitate reference back and forth the laws may conveniently be numbered 1-20.

Four points may be made before the analysis is undertaken. First, it has recently been emphasized by Peter Foote, with regard to the background of the Icelandic sagas, that "admitting oral tradition is not the same as admitting historical truth".[129] One reason for the validity of this statement is the fact that oral narrative often (though by no means always) deals with fantastic and supernatural happenings; another is the fact that the stylization which is profoundly characteristic of such narrative (as a discussion of its laws will show) may often reduce the complexity and variety

of historical events to a patterned, memorable form, thus reducing their historicity at the same time. Now in C&C there are no fantastic or supernatural events, and while there seems to be a certain amount of patterning in the form of parallelism, this, it should be recognized, could have been dictated by the events themselves as they actually happened, and might represent, not the stylization characteristic of oral narrative, but an accurate reporting of historical events. As far as I can discover, there is nothing in C&C which could not reasonably have happened during the period with which it deals; and it seems, indeed, to have been regarded as a reliable account by a number of modern historians.[130] It should be remembered that, while parallelism is often a mark of the stylizing tendency of oral tradition, it may sometimes reflect historical truth. Secondly, it has been emphasized above that the bulk of C&C deals with events of some thirty years after the year under which it is recorded, and that the account of these later events appears to have been inserted into the annal for 755 because of a connection between these events and one clearly assigned to that year.[131] Now this situation, in which a separate source, oral or written, has been added to an already existing annal, could result in a certain amount of inconsistency, omission, and repetitiveness which would then have to be attributed to the annalist's failure to adapt his source successfully to its new environment, rather than to the forgetfulness or stylizing tendency of an oral narrator. This, too, should be borne in mind in the course of the forthcoming analysis. Thirdly, these first two points should not prevent recognition of the possibility that, in cases where parallelism and consistency seem to be lacking in C&C, this may be due to a lack of these qualities in the actual events recorded, and to the failure of these events to become stylized in oral tradition, rather than to the failure of a compiler to correlate his materials. It should not be forgotten that the story may in such cases be following what G. Turville-Petre has called "the disordered course of life itself".[132] Fourthly, the terms "scene" and "summary", which will be used below, may be clarified here. Olrik himself uses the term "scene" in discussing one aspect of the presentation of oral narrative, as will be shown;[133] and Hodgkin uses it with reference to C&C, dividing the account of the three fights at Merantun into three "scenes" respectively.[134] Much more recently, Carol Clover has investigated the use of scene in the Icelandic sagas, maintaining that this feature of saga composition derives ultimately from oral tradition. She defines a scene as "a kind of miniature, visual drama",[135] with a tripartite structure of preface, dramatic encounter, and conclusion. "Summary and general statements (about time, situation, etc.) are relegated to the preface or conclusion" so that the central part of each scene "stands alone as drama". "The drama may consist of direct or indirect discourse or, commonly, a combination of the two (sometimes effected by anacoluthon). In the dramatic encounter the narrator provides exactly . . . the ingredients for stage drama: mainly dialogue . . . together with precise and concrete stage directions of necessary accompanying movements and gestures".[136] Hodgkin may not have been thinking in precisely these terms when he used the word "scene" for each of the three fighting episodes in C&C, but there is no doubt that each fight is presented very much in the

manner of an Icelandic saga scene as described by Clover. The account of the first fight, ll.15-19, presents Cynewulf's confrontation with Cyneheard as "a miniature, visual drama" without dialogue; the account of the second fight, ll.19-25, may be said to present a dramatic encounter in the form of a reported exchange between Cyneheard and Cynewulf's first group of loyal followers; and that of the third, ll.26-46, presents one in the form of an exchange in indirect speech - breaking at one point into direct speech - between Cyneheard and his followers on the one hand and Cynewulf's second group of supporters on the other. Furthermore, each account is prefaced and concluded with summary and general statements relating to time and situation. Summary seems to intrude even on the central parts of these three scenes, however, particularly the second one, where the absence of detailed "stage directions" and the predominance of reported over direct speech raises the question of whether the three episodes are, in fact, summaries of ones which were presented even more scenically at an earlier stage of the story's transmission. However this may be, there is no doubt that "summary" is the appropriate word for the narrative mode of the opening lines of the annal, down to line 14, where relations between the characters are not presented as dramatic encounters, and where, indeed, there is a tendency to over-summarize, with the result that insufficient information is given for following the thread of the narrative, as will be shown below.

The early part of the annal, in particular, needs to be closely investigated before it can be decided how far C&C obeys the law of perspicuity or clear arrangement (1), whereby oral narrative reflects only very selectively the variety of real life. This is certainly generally true of C&C; for while it deals ostensibly with the reign of Cynewulf, it is obviously highly selective, having far fewer events and characters than Cynewulf is likely to have encountered during his twenty-nine year reign; and the factors affecting the lives of the characters are infinitely fewer in the story than is likely to have been the case in reality. On the other hand, it can hardly be said that the events leading up to the mutual hostility of Cynewulf and Cyneheard are presented in such a way as to give an impression of "clear arrangement"; on the contrary, they are presented disjointedly, and apparently incompletely. From the opening sentence of the annal, in which it is told how Cynewulf partly deposed Sigebryht with the help of the West Saxon council, it might be expected that Sigebryht would retaliate in some way, and that the story would move naturally towards a confrontation between these two men, in accordance with the laws of unity and direct continuity of plot (see (9), (11), below). In fact, however, Sigebryht slays his own loyal ealdorman, whereupon Cynewulf banishes him to Andred for reasons which, though they may be guessed at, are certainly not stated.[137] Sigebryht then remains in Andred until he is slain by a swineherd who is avenging the ealdorman. Only after this event and the mention of Cynewulf's battles and the length of his reign is his wish to expel Cyneheard, Sigebryht's brother, mentioned. Why Cynewulf should wish to expel him may again be guessed at, but is not made clear.[138] Once the threat has been posed, however, and Cyneheard has retaliated by attacking Cynewulf at Merantun, the narrative proceeds according to the logic of loyalty and revenge towards an inevitable

conclusion - the defeat or victory of one side or the other. Even at this stage, however, as has been shown above, the story is not free of uncertainties and ambiguities which, while they may have been exaggerated by modern translators, also offend to some extent against the law of perspicuity.

One manifestation of this law, according to Olrik, is the law of two to a scene (2), whereby oral narrative does not allow more than two characters to appear in the foreground of the story at one time. While it is true that C&C tends to deal with its more prominent characters two at a time (Cynewulf and Sigebryht; Sigebryht and Cumbra; Sigebryht and the swineherd; Cynewulf and Cyneheard; Osric and Wiferþ) it certainly does not ignore other characters (the West Saxon council, the woman, and the supporters of Cynewulf and Cyneheard), and the tendency towards summary in C&C, noted above, means that there is no clear example in it of the situation whereby, according to this law, the arrival of a new character involves one of the two already "on stage" either disappearing or receding into the background. Of the three scenes noted above, it is in the first (ll.15-19), where Cynewulf and Cyneheard confront each other, that the law comes closest to being obeyed; in the second (ll.19-25), Cyneheard confronts a group rather than an individual, and a group which, while it may react as one person, can hardly be described as homogeneous, since it evidently includes a British hostage. In the third scene (ll.26-46), the change from the singular to the plural in the third person of verbs introducing reported speech at ll.32-4 suggests, as Joan Turville-Petre has shown, collective support of Cyneheard's bid for the kingship by his followers[139] who, it might be argued, are here speaking for and with him as one person. However, it later emerges that among their number is a group of people related to the supporters of Cynewulf led by Osric and Wiferþ; it is to this group alone, not to Cyneheard and his entire following, that the passage of direct speech is given, so that the impression of just one voice speaking for Cyneheard's party is hardly sustained. There is the further problem that the other party on stage in this scene (ll.26-46), Cynewulf's second group of supporters, is represented not by one person (unless it be the dead and "offstage" Cynewulf) but two - Osric and Wiferþ (see further (16), below). In no sense can it be said that the law of two to a scene is obeyed in the second and third scenes.

According to the law of patterning (3), characters and episodes in oral narrative which, though different, are of the same kind, are deliberately made as like each other as possible. This law seems to be generally followed in C&C. The "formal patterning" of C&C has been well illustrated by Ruth Waterhouse, who points out similarities of presentation between Cyneheard's attack on Cynewulf at Merantun (ll.11-16) and the approach of Osric and his companions to Merantun the following morning (ll.26-32); and also between different stages of events at Merantun, showing that a material offer in exchange for the kingship is twice made by Cyneheard, and is twice rejected, and that in both cases the ensuing battle leads to all on one side dying except one person (ll.21-5; 32-46).[140] Examples have already been given of ways in which repetition of certain phrases helps to emphasize the similarity of the different fights at Merantun.

Waterhouse also makes the important if relatively obvious point that the story of Sigebryht, Cumbra, and the swineherd in the early part of the annal has the same basic subject-matter as the account of events at Merantun: loyalty to a lord leading to revenge for his slaying. As shown above, the two stories are linked verbally by references to Cynewulf's banishment of Sigebryht and his intended banishment of Cyneheard.[141]

It should be recognized that while the laws of patterning (3), repetition (4), and progression (5) may be seen as distinct from each other at the level of narrative form, they may also combine with each other at that level, and may often employ repetition of wording and phrasing at the level of style. According to the law of repetition (4), the same or effectively the same information is repeated[142] when it is sufficiently important to require emphasis. Oral narrative prefers repetition to detailed description when emphasis is required. Of the possible cases of this law in C&C three have already been discussed, and may be taken here in the order in which they have been mentioned above.[143] The first of them, found only in the D and E manuscripts, where Sigebryht is referred to as a kinsman of Cynewulf in the opening sentence of the annal (see textual note 1, above), is the reference at the beginning and end of the story (ll.1, 48-9) to the family relationship between Cynewulf and the brothers Sigebryht and Cyneheard. This, on the face of it, is hardly likely to reflect the repetition characteristic of oral narrative, since the opening sentence of the annal is, of all the sentences in C&C, the one most likely to have belonged originally to the annal rather than to the inserted narrative.[144] The reference here to Cynewulf's kinship with Sigebryht, whatever its textual history, is more likely to reflect adjustment of the inserted narrative to the annal by an annalist or scribe than to indicate repetition as an oral feature. However, the possibility that the repeated reference was included in written versions of the story because of an awareness that it formed part of an oral version should not be discounted. The second possible case, the repeated reference to the length of Cynewulf's reign (ll.8-9; 46) is only doubtfully an example of the story's debt to oral tradition, as shown above, and differs from the case just discussed in that it hardly conveys information of great importance for the story's development. The third, the repeated reference to people "left behind" by Cynewulf (ll.26-7, 29-30), is a relatively safe example of the law, since it is perhaps necessary at this stage of the narrative to emphasize that Cynewulf had supporters other than those who died with him at Merantun. A possible fourth case is the co-ordinate clause and þa bær to eodon (l.32), which at a cursory glance might seem to repeat the earlier clause þa ridon hie þider (l.28); it is certainly true that the later clause could be removed without seriously disturbing the sense of the passage in which both clauses occur. The impression of repetition here is enhanced by the fact that the co-ordinate clause immediately preceding the later of these two clauses: and þa gatu him to belocen hæfdon (l.31) is printed between dashes in a number of modern editions.[145] Close reading of the passage suggests, however, that the clause þa ridon hie þider refers to a journey to Merantun made from a considerable distance,

whereas and þa bær to eodon refers to an approach to the gates made by Osric and his followers once it was discovered (l.30) that Cyneheard was inside. In other words it reports a later, more specific stage of the approach to Merantun than the earlier clause, and can hardly be said to repeat it.

Next to be considered is the law of progression (5), whereby, for example, the hero of a folk-tale undertakes three adventures which become progressively more difficult,[146] or of which only the third is successful. Alternatively (and here the law may combine with those of contrast (14), (15), discussed below), a difficult task may be undertaken by three brothers, of whom only the youngest succeeds. Thus the person involved need not be the same at different stages in the series for the law to be fulfilled, provided that the element of progression is present. The three fights with which C&C is mainly concerned, though not linked by the presence of the same hero in each case (see further (18), below), show the law of progression insofar as they are treated at increasingly greater length, and are linked thematically by the fact that each of them illustrates, as Magoun has shown, "the unwavering loyalty of the *comitatus* to its overlord".[147]

C&C also seems to obey the law of restriction to action (6), whereby every quality of a person or thing must be expressed in action; otherwise it is out of place in oral narrative. As shown above in the context of the economy with which feelings are expressed in C&C, the contrasting characters of Sigebryht and Cynewulf are conveyed by reference to their actions in the earlier part of the story, including the first fight at Merantun; and whether or not speech, reported or otherwise, may be regarded as action,[148] it is certainly true that, in the later part, the speeches by members of the opposing sides at Merantun lead naturally to the heroic actions which culminate in the tragic climaxes of the second and third fights.

By the law of plastic lucidity or of tableau-scenes (7), each episode in oral narrative presents the imagination with a clear, vivid picture, showing characters involved in actions or scenes which are sufficiently exceptional to be memorable, and which have, indeed, "a certain quality of persistence through time".[149] Obedience to this law is not particularly striking in C&C, where summary tends to intrude upon scene, as shown above, but the brief presentation of Cynewulf rushing at Cyneheard from the doorway of the lady's bower (11.15-18) certainly has this quality, and may be cited as an example.

According to the logic of oral narrative (8), information is rarely provided which does not in some way affect the plot; irrelevant material is eschewed. Furthermore, newly introduced material is given a prominence directly related to its significance for the plot. The structure of C&C will be discussed more fully below; it may be assumed for the moment that its "main plot" is the story of the hostility between Cynewulf and Cyneheard as narrated from 11.8-46. While this law seems to be generally present in C&C, it is not always easy to show how it manifests itself, largely because of the summary character, noted above, of the early part of the story in particular. It is not so much that irrelevant material is introduced

as that insufficient relevant material is provided. To understand the position of the kinsmen fighting on opposing sides at Merantun, for instance, it would be helpful to know more about the kinship between Cynewulf and the brothers Sigebryht and Cyneheard; and to understand the conflict between Cynewulf and Cyneheard, it would be useful to know more about Cynewulf's precise reasons for wishing to expel Cyneheard. The prominence given to the fact that Cyneheard was Sigebryht's brother strongly suggests the relevance of this information to the mutual hostility of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, and hence to the main plot; but it is not easy to show exactly why or how it is relevant, since insufficient information has been given. Is Cyneheard primarily interested in the throne, as suggested earlier, or is he primarily "seeking revenge for his brother's deposition", as suggested by Waterhouse?[150] Or have there been other hostilities between Cynewulf and either or both of these two brothers which are not mentioned? The truth lies most probably in a combination of these possibilities, but hardly emerges fully from the information provided. This truncated quality of the opening lines of the annal makes it difficult to determine what the main plot of the story is until Cyneheard has been introduced and his attack on Merantun mentioned; and this in turn makes it hard to decide just what is or is not relevant to it. Once these difficulties have been recognized, however, it is possible to show that much of what might seem to be irrelevant on its introduction is in fact made use of later in such a way as to confirm its relevance; though the possibility that information has been included primarily to satisfy the demands of historical tradition, rather than with any conscious thought of its relevance to other parts of a narrative structure, should, of course, at all times be remembered. If, as already assumed, the main plot of the story has to do with the hostility between Cynewulf and Sigebryht's brother Cyneheard, it might not seem strictly relevant to mention the West Saxon council (and West Seaxna wiotan) in the opening sentence of the annal as having shared with Cynewulf the responsibility for Sigebryht's deposition (though see (15), below). However, if H. Munro Chadwick is right in claiming that the specific mention of Cynewulf in this sentence suggests conspiracy rather than a formal deposition of Sigebryht by the West Saxon council,[151] then the mention of the council raises the question of which of its members, if any, remained loyal to Sigebryht; and this question is answered, partly by the reference to Hampshire at the end of the sentence, and partly by the reference, in the immediately following sentence, to the "ealdorman who stood by him longest" (ll.3-4), later identified as Cumbra, who was presumably the ealdorman of Hampshire.[152] Now the story of Cumbra's slaying by Sigebryht and the swineherd's revenge is highly relevant in subject-matter to the main plot, as emphasized by Waterhouse, and pointed out above;[153] so the mention of the West Saxon council in the opening sentence may be said to introduce this story, which may now be identified as a subsidiary plot paralleling the main plot in subject-matter. The mention of Sigebryht's expulsion into Andred, which completes the process of his deposition, turns out to have an obvious, if unspecified relevance to the main plot in that it adds to the reasons for hostility between Cynewulf and Cyneheard, though it is more immediately relevant to the

subsidiary plot in that it helps to explain the circumstances of Sigebryht's death, in ascribing it specifically to a swineherd and locating it at Privett.[154] If there is any doubt as to the reason for the swineherd's slaying of Sigebryht, this is explained in the co-ordinate clause stating that he was avenging the ealdorman. The reference to Cynewulf's "great battles against the Britons", mentioned after the completion of the subsidiary plot (ll.7-8), is perhaps not strictly relevant to the advancement of the main plot, but it at least raises expectations about Cynewulf's presentation as a warrior-hero which are fulfilled in the one scene where Cynewulf is at all closely visualized (ll.15-19); and it is linked to this scene verbally by the word miclum (ll.8, 17), even though the two uses of the word are not exactly parallel.[155] The presence of this reference in C&C may in any case be accounted for in terms of other laws of oral narrative discussed above (6), and below (14). Thus the opening lines of the annal, including the subsidiary plot and the reference to Cynewulf's battles against the Britons, may be said to form an introduction to the main plot, which latter extends from the end of 1.8 to the beginning of 1.46, after which it is followed by a short epilogue (ending at 1.49), the presence of which may be explained in terms of the law of closing (20), discussed below. Within the main plot, the logic of oral narrative is mostly followed, apart from the fact that, in contrast to the mention of ealdorman Osric (1.28), whose godson, it later emerges (ll.44-6), is the one survivor of the third fight at Merantun on Cyneheard's side (cf. the law of patterning (3), above), the mention by name of Wiferþ is hard to explain in terms of this logic; though it may conceivably be accounted for in terms of the law of two to a scene (2) or the law of twins (16).

According to the law of unity of plot (9), the typical oral narrative moves naturally towards a single event as its conclusion and excludes everything irrelevant to it. Enough has been said above in connection with laws 1 and 8 to show that this law is not consistently followed in C&C; the confrontation between Cynewulf and Sigebryht, which might be expected from what is said in the opening sentence of the annal, never in fact occurs, and it is only after the main plot has begun in earnest with Cyneheard's attack on Merantun that the story can be said to move naturally towards an inevitable conclusion. The subsidiary plot referred to above, which begins in earnest with Sigebryht's slaying of Cumbra, finds a natural conclusion, it is true, in the slaying of Sigebryht by the swineherd in revenge for Cumbra's death (cf. the logic of oral narrative (8), above), but its movement towards that conclusion is somewhat impeded by the mention of Cynewulf's expulsion of Sigebryht into Andred, the relevance of which to the subsidiary plot, noted above, only emerges when Sigebryht's death has been reported; initially it revives the expectations raised by the opening sentence of a conflict between Cynewulf and Sigebryht, which are never fulfilled.

The laws of oral narrative distinguish between epic unity and ideal unity of plot (10). The former, the simpler form of unity, is apparent when every detail of the narrative contributes towards bringing about an event, the possibility of which has been suspected from the beginning; while the latter involves two or more instances

of epic unity being placed side by side without themselves being linked by epic unity, so that individual characters and the problems confronting them may be dealt with all the more fully. Enough has been said above in connection with laws (1), (8), and (9) to show that, in the main plot of C&C, epic unity is well exemplified; once Cynewulf's wish to expel Cyneheard is mentioned, everything in the story contributes more or less directly to the ultimate victory of Cynewulf's side over Cyneheard's - an outcome which may reasonably be suspected (if not predicted) from the mention of the proposed expulsion onwards. Suspicion as to the final outcome is assisted by the early reference to Cynewulf's "small company" (l.12) of followers at Merantun, which is enough to indicate that there are other followers elsewhere who will avenge him in the event of his defeat with this company, as is in fact the case. Epic unity is also apparent in the subsidiary plot, though less strikingly so; the mention of Cynewulf's expulsion of Sigebryht into Andred, which later emerges as relevant to the circumstances of Sigebryht's death, at first distracts attention from the subsidiary plot in seeming to point towards a conflict between Cynewulf and Sigebryht rather than to one between Sigebryht and an avenger of the ealdorman he has slain. Since no mention is made of Cyneheard either in the subsidiary plot or at any other stage of the introduction, it cannot be said that any part of the introduction is linked to the main plot by epic unity. What can be said, however, is that the subsidiary plot and the main plot are linked by ideal unity, in that they both have the same fundamental subject-matter, as pointed out above: revenge arising from loyalty to a slain lord (cf. the law of patterning (3), above). According to Olrik, the linking of two instances of epic unity by an idea rather than by the same leading character is acceptable according to the law of ideal unity, even though it is a relatively "late, reflective" manifestation of it.[156]

According to the law of direct continuity of plot (11), oral narrative moves steadily forward to what is causally and temporally the next stage in the story, without reverting to any previous incident or allowing a change of scene unless the plot itself requires such a change. This law is certainly obeyed in the main plot of C&C; and if it is imperfectly obeyed in the introduction this is because insufficient relevant material is provided rather than because irrelevant material disturbs the continuity. The passing over of Cynewulf's long reign in a few words would not in itself represent a violation of this law if it could be shown that this long period separated two events between which there was a direct causal relationship, and that nothing during the time separating them was essential to the plot, but the impression actually given is that important events do take place during this period which are not mentioned, and which, had they been recorded, would have helped to explain Cynewulf's precise reasons for wishing to expel Cyneheard, and perhaps revealed a link by epic unity between the introduction and the main plot. Even in the subsidiary plot, which otherwise seems to follow the law of continuity, the precise causal relationship between Sigebryht's slaying of his loyal ealdorman and his expulsion by Cynewulf into Andred is hard to determine.[157] Although important events seem to be omitted from

the introduction, those which are recorded are clearly in correct chronological order, with the possible exception of one or more of Cynewulf's battles against the Britons, as shown above.[158] Olrik allows two exceptions to this law, and exemplifies both from the Icelandic sagas: (a) a new story may be introduced in the course of dialogue; and (b) the main plot may be temporarily brought to an end at a suitable moment in order to introduce new events which are seen to merge with the main plot only when they have been fully dealt with themselves. The first of these is obviously not relevant here; but if Olrik's term "main plot" (*hovedhandlingen*)[159] may be modified slightly to suit the narrative structure of C&C, as outlined under (8), above, it is possible that some of the anomalies of its introduction may be partly explained in terms of the second exception. For instance, it seems that the subsidiary plot is temporarily brought to an end with the mention of Sigebryht's slaying of his loyal ealdorman, and that the reference to Cynewulf's expulsion of Sigebryht into Andred, which immediately follows, is irrelevant to this plot's concern. However, it is seen to merge with the subsidiary plot when it is found that the expulsion provides a setting for the swineherd's slaying of Sigebryht in vengeance for the slaying of the ealdorman. Secondly, it might be thought that the story's concern with the mutual hostility of Cynewulf and Sigebryht had come to an end with the former's expulsion of the latter into Andred, since a confrontation between them is obviously no longer possible after the swineherd's slaying of Sigebryht, in which the subsidiary plot culminates. When Cynewulf is mentioned again, it is in the context of his battles against the Britons, and it seems as though the story is now concerned with his qualities as a king rather than with these earlier events. However, it soon emerges that Cynewulf is at odds with Sigebryht's brother Cyneheard, and this is enough to establish a link, however imperfectly explained, between the present concern of the story and the earlier references to Cynewulf.

The law of concentration on a central character (12) is clearly obeyed in C&C; Cynewulf is mentioned at the very beginning and end of the story, and even participates in the subsidiary plot, the main character of which, however, seems to be Sigebryht. After Cynewulf's death, which may reasonably be regarded as the climax of the story as a whole, it is loyalty to him which prevents his two groups of followers from accepting the terms offered them by Cyneheard, and which thus leads to the second and third fights at Merantun.

At the same time, the law of two main characters (13) is also obeyed in C&C; according to this, a second character may become almost as important as the main character for the development of the plot. In C&C this second character is of course Cyneheard, whose presence makes itself felt from the beginning of the main plot onwards, and who is specifically mentioned together with Cynewulf (though not, like him, by name) in the closing lines of the story. It is Cyneheard who initiates the first fight at Merantun, and whose actions test and confirm the loyalty of Cynewulf's followers from which the second and third fights arise. It should be emphasized that it is Cyneheard, rather than Osric, who is the second main character in C&C; Magoun's remark that "Osric is in every sense the

hero of the occasion", where by "occasion" he seems to mean the entire Merantun affair rather than just the third fight,[160] gives an exaggerated impression of his importance. It should also be stressed that, in C&C, the law of two main characters is hardly obeyed to the extent that, as sometimes happens in oral narrative, the second main character arouses more sympathy than the main character, thus becoming the "actual hero", while the main character becomes merely the "formal hero".

As for the law of contrast (14), whereby two characters appearing at the same time are contrasted in character and often in action, enough has been said above in the context of the economy with which feelings are expressed in C&C to show that this law is obeyed here at least to the extent that Cynewulf and Sigebryht are contrasted in character and action, even though Cynewulf and Cyneheard are not; and it may be added that the loyalty of Sigebryht's ealdorman, and that of the swineherd who avenges his death, are made to contrast with the wickedness of Sigebryht in slaying his loyal follower. The lack of a contrast between Cynewulf and Cyneheard may be compared with the paucity of marked contrasts between opponents in the Icelandic family sagas, where, as Grønbech has noted, the maintenance of honour through vengeance by each of the feuding parties is the chief concern of the narrative, and little preference is indicated for one side as opposed to the other, with the result that the family sagas, apart from *Njáls saga*, are "desperately poor in villains".[161] A further element of contrast becomes apparent in C&C if Sigebryht is regarded as the main character of the subsidiary plot. This plot then contrasts with the main plot in having an evil as opposed to a noble lord as its main character.

A further specification of the law of contrast requires that it should work outwards from the central character to the less important characters (15), rather than the other way round; in other words, the qualities of the central character should be reasonably well established before the contrast is effected. This is hardly true of C&C, where nothing is said about Cynewulf's qualities until after Sigebryht's evil character has been sufficiently indicated by the references to his "wicked deeds" and to his slaying of his own loyal ealdorman. Prior to these references the only hint given that Cynewulf's actions are to be approved of is the reference to the West Saxon council's support of Cynewulf, which may be intended to give this impression. On the other hand, if Sigebryht is seen as the main character of the subsidiary plot, then the law of contrast may be seen working outwards from him to other characters; his wickedness is first established, and is then seen to contrast with the loyalty of the ealdorman Cumbra and the swineherd.

According to the law of twins (16), two characters who appear as partners in the same or much the same role make a less strong impression individually than one person would in that role. While it might seem tempting to take as an example of this the two survivors of the battles at Merantun, mentioned above as an example of the law of patterning (3), it should be remembered that these have been fighting on different sides, and cannot be seen as partners, whereas each of Olrik's examples involves either brothers or members of the same group. The nearest, perhaps, that C&C comes to this

law is in the presentation of Osric and Wiferþ, though their presentation in the same role is hardly sustained, since Wiferþ is mentioned only once. If, as seems likely, these two are the leaders of the group "left behind" that comes to Merantun to avenge Cynewulf's death,[162] then they seem to make, as a pair, a rather less striking impression in this role than just one leader, such as Cynewulf, might have done.

By the law of three (17), oral narrative shows a fondness for the number three with regard to characters, objects, and successive events. Obedience to this law is relatively rare in the Icelandic family sagas, as Olrik indicates, naming *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* as the one family saga in which it is prominent[163] (cf. the law of contrast (14), above). It appears in C&C in the three scenes depicting the events at Merantun, and is reinforced by the phrasal repetition which, as shown above, underlines the tragic similarity of the climaxes of these scenes. The main plot may be said to have three main characters, as the title of Magoun's article, "Cynewulf, Cyneheard, and Osric",[164] implies, and so may the subsidiary plot, in the persons of Sigebryht, Cumbra, and the swineherd.

Closely linked with the law of three is the law of terminal stress (18), whereby the last member in a series of characters or events is the most important for the plot and consequently receives the most emphasis. Initial stress, on the other hand, which in Olrik's examples appears only in series of characters (both human and divine), is given to the figure who is formally rather than functionally the most important in such a series.[165] It is certainly true that in C&C the last of the three scenes depicting the events at Merantun is given greater emphasis than the other two with regard to length and detail of presentation. The first of these, however, although it is the shortest, has its own vividness and haunting quality, as suggested above in connection with (7), and cannot be regarded as having a purely formal importance, any more than Cynewulf, who plays a prominent part in it, can be regarded as a merely formal hero (cf. the law of two main characters (13), above). Of Cynewulf, Cyneheard, and Osric, who may be regarded as the main characters of each of these three scenes respectively, it is Cynewulf who is most clearly visualized and who remains most distinctly in the mind, yet the emphasis which he thus receives indicates an importance much more functional than formal, since his heroic death is of the greatest significance for the main plot, which would, indeed, be impossible without it. Thus, while the law of terminal stress is to some extent obeyed in C&C, it cannot be said that initial stress is used here in the sense in which Olrik applies the term to oral narrative, even though it is certainly present in the story. As for the subsidiary plot, in which Sigebryht, Cumbra and the swineherd may be said to form a series in the order in which they are first referred to, more emphasis seems to be given to Sigebryht than to either of the other two characters, whose loyalty combines to contrast with Sigebryht's wickedness, as shown above in connection with the law of contrast (14). This instance of initial stress also seems to indicate functional rather than formal importance, however, since it is Sigebryht's wickedness which initiates the subsidiary plot, and without which it would be impossible.

Since the opening sentence of C&C, at the very least, shows the conventions of annalistic writing rather than those of oral tradition,[166] it is unlikely that the story will show much adherence to the law of opening (19), whereby, in oral narrative, a story begins with a change in its atmosphere from calm to excitement, and with a movement of its concern from the single to the many, and from the habitual to the unusual. There is certainly little leisure for calm at the beginning of C&C, with its abrupt account of Cynewulf's partial deposition of Sigebryht, with the support of the West Saxon council; however, the law is obeyed in the grammatical sense that the first sentence moves from a singular subject governing a verb in the singular to an additional plural subject governing the same verb by anacoluthon and placed after the verb and its direct and indirect objects, both of which are in the singular.[167] In this sense the concern of the sentence moves "from the single to the many". The point at which the introduction leads into the main plot (at 11.8-9), may be said to show a movement from the habitual to the unusual in referring first to Cynewulf's frequent battles against the Britons and then to his wish to expel Cyneheard after ruling for thirty-one years.

Finally, C&C can be shown to obey the law of closing (20), whereby oral narrative tends not to stop abruptly after the final decisive event of the story - in this case the defeat by Osric and his followers of Cyneheard and his - but allows the atmosphere to change from excitement to calm, and the concern of the story to move away somewhat from its principal events and characters. This is effected in C&C by the second reference to the length of Cynewulf's reign, and by the references to the whereabouts of the graves of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, and to their descent from Cerdic.

Thus, while the evidence for the formal characteristics of oral narrative in C&C is not overwhelming, it is perhaps rather more impressive than the evidence for oral style assembled earlier. Over half the twenty laws listed by Olrik seem to be fairly closely followed in C&C, particularly those of patterning (3), progression (5), and restriction to action (6); the ones relating to logic (8), and to unity (9), (10) and continuity (11) of plot; and those involving a central character (12), two main characters (13), contrast (14), the number three (17), and closing (20). The formal evidence seems to suggest rather more forcibly than the stylistic evidence that the story has retained a number of features from an oral stage of its transmission.[168]

The main reason for the present investigation has been the fact that, with the notable exception of Joan Turville-Petre's study, comparison of C&C with the Icelandic sagas has been made chiefly against the background of the assumption that these were largely oral in origin. Although this assumption has been seriously challenged in the course of the century, as was pointed out earlier, there have been signs of a cautious return to it among students of the sagas in recent years.[169] Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, for instance, writing in 1977, has emphasized strongly the interaction of the oral and written traditions in medieval Iceland, and the danger of seeing the one as separate from the other: "We must surely assume", he writes, "that the authors of the sagas were

story-tellers, and first and foremost story-tellers. They wrote because they had learnt the art of story-telling, and had the oral presentation of the written saga in mind as they wrote".[170] A major herald of this relatively new approach was Theodore M. Andersson, whose detailed investigation of *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins*, published in 1964, led him to the following conclusion: "The writer undoubtedly could and did use written sources, supplementary oral sources, his own imagination, and above all his own words, but his art and presumably the framework of his story were given him by tradition. The inspiration of the sagas is ultimately oral".[171] As P.G. Foote says, commenting on Andersson's conclusions, "We should like to know more about the art",[172] and the approaches of Heinzel, Olrik, and Clover discussed here might, if closely and extensively applied to the sagas, help to provide the increased knowledge required. As for "the framework", Andersson has himself provided a starting-point for further investigation with his *Icelandic Family Saga. An Analytic Reading*, published in 1966. Here he outlines a structural pattern which he finds recurring in a number of family sagas and which, he believes, "might also serve to describe the oral stories that must have preceded and preconditioned the written sagas".[173] I should like to conclude this paper with a short discussion of Andersson's pattern in relation to C&C, which he does not mention. First, however, I should point out that his definition and use of this pattern have been sternly criticized by a number of reviewers. Some have found, for instance, that his identification of the pattern is based on a faulty analysis of *Þorsteins þáttr stangarhöggs*, from which he derives it;[174] some have raised the question of whether it is appropriate to derive a pattern supposedly characteristic of the family sagas from a *þáttr*, which is not necessarily the same type of narrative as a saga;[175] some have found the pattern acceptable as an analysis of *Þorsteins þáttr*, yet unacceptable as a structural norm for many of the family sagas;[176] and some have found that Andersson's discussion of only twenty-four of these sagas limits the validity of his conclusions,[177] one critic pointing out that *Flóamanna saga*, which is among the family sagas omitted from Andersson's analysis, fails completely to fit his pattern,[178] and another suggesting that his investigation might profitably have been extended to include the closely related kings' sagas.[179] On the other hand, Richard F. Allen has written, in his book on *Njáls saga*: "One may take issue with Andersson's analyses of individual sagas, but the pattern he has perceived does appear again and again, not only in the family sagas but in the episodes of *Sturlunga saga*, and the terse anecdotes of the *Landnámabók*";[180] and *Króka-Refs saga*, another of the family sagas excluded from Andersson's analysis, has recently been shown to conform quite neatly to his pattern.[181]

The pattern falls into six parts: introduction, conflict, climax, revenge, reconciliation, and aftermath. The main function of the introduction is to present the characters; however, it is not essential for all of them to be presented in the introduction. Andersson takes account of the fact that in some sagas characters may be introduced "at the beginning of a new section",[182] as Cyneheard is in C&C according to the analysis given above, where it was suggested that the introduction to C&C takes up the first eight

lines of the story; Cyneheard is not in fact introduced until l.10. What has been said above about the subsidiary plot, which forms part of the introduction, may be compared with Andersson's view that the introduction to a family saga may consist of "an almost independent story which serves to adumbrate the personalities of the saga or the unfolding plot".[183] The next four parts of Andersson's pattern - conflict, climax, revenge and reconciliation - may be considered within the framework of the main plot of C&C, which according to the above analysis extends from ll.8-46 of the text. It is clear from the opening lines of this section that a conflict develops between Cynewulf and Cyneheard, even though the "insult or injury"[184] generally required to touch off the conflict in a family saga is not specified here; and that this conflict rises to a climax with the death of Cynewulf. Now, at the risk of applying Andersson's pattern to C&C from without, rather than allowing its presence or absence to emerge from the text itself, it may be noted that revenge and reconciliation should, according to the pattern, follow next, in that order. It can hardly be said that reconciliation takes place in C&C, unless the survival of the ealdorman's godson mentioned at ll.44-5, may be taken as an example of it - if it may indeed be deduced from the text that his life was saved or spared by the ealdorman.[185] However, it is undoubtedly true that two attempts at reconciliation are made by Cyneheard, when he offers terms in exchange for the kingship to each of Cynewulf's two groups of followers. In both cases, however, the offer is rejected for reasons of loyalty, which leads to a heroic but unsuccessful attempt at revenge by the first group (ll.22-5), and to a successful accomplishment of it by the second (ll.32-44). Thus, while the dominant feature of this part of the story is revenge, the possibility of reconciliation is twice indicated. Finally, the brief passage (ll.46-9) described above as an epilogue may be said to consist of "concluding notes not strictly pertinent to the plot",[186] which is how Andersson defines "aftermath", the sixth and final part of his pattern.

Andersson's pattern can thus be shown to combine reasonably well with the other schemes of division applied here to the story under discussion, and provides yet another interesting opportunity for comparison between "Cynewulf and Cyneheard" and the Icelandic sagas.

NOTES

1 I am grateful to my colleagues Professor T.A. Shippey. Peter Orton and Elizabeth Cook; to Drs Richard F. Byrn and C.D.M. Cossar, both of the German Department, University of Leeds; to Denis Bethell of the Department of Medieval History, University College Dublin; and to Joan Turville-Petre, of Somerville College, Oxford, for help, advice, and encouragement on different aspects of this paper. I am also grateful to Professor Desmond Slay, of the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, for conversations which, as long ago as 1969, greatly increased my interest in the subject of this paper. Errors naturally remain entirely mine.

2 The correct date of the year of Cynewulf's accession, which forms the starting-point for the events of C&C, is in fact 757. Its assignment to the year 755 is due to a chronological dislocation from the mid eighth to the mid ninth century in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which has resulted in most events being dated two years too early during that period. See *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Charles Plummer on the basis of an edition by John Earle, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1892-9); rev. Dorothy Whitelock, 1952), II, pp.cii-iii. The information given in the text of C&C, ll.8 and 46, that Cynewulf reigned for thirty-one years, is also erroneous; he reigned in fact for twenty-nine, and his death is briefly recorded under the year 784 (correct date 786), in the following words: "Her Cyneheard ofslog Cynewulf cyning, and he þær wearþ ofslægen, and lxxxiiii monna mid him". It seems likely that the word he here refers to Cyneheard, and that the eighty-four men referred to were his followers, rather than, as Francis P. Magoun and C.L. Wrenn believed, the "small company" who died with Cynewulf at Merantun. See Magoun, "Cynewulf, Cyneheard, and Osric", *Anglia* 57 (1933), 361-76, p.366, and Wrenn, "A Saga of the Anglo-Saxons", *History*, New Series, 25 (1940), 208-15, p.214. For criticism of Magoun on this point, see Francis Joseph Battaglia, "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 755: the Missing Evidence for a Traditional Reading", *PMLA* 81 (1966), 173-8, p.174, n.7, and Ruth Waterhouse, "The Theme and Structure of 755 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70 (1969), 630-40, p.632, n.1; cf. also p.640.

3 See *Three Northumbrian Poems*, ed. A.H. Smith (rev. ed., London, 1968), pp.10-15; C.L. Wrenn, "The Poetry of Caedmon", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 32 (1947), 277-95, and the reviews of Wrenn, "Caedmon", by Kemp Malone and George Kane in *Medium Ævum* 17 (1948), 56-7 and *The Modern Language Review* 43 (1948), 250-2 respectively; Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "Bede's story of Caedman: the Case History of an Anglo-Saxon Oral Singer", *Speculum* 30 (1955), 49-63; Kemp Malone, "Caedmon and English Poetry", *Modern Language Notes* 76 (1961), 193-5; Robert D. Stevick, "The Oral-Formulaic Analyses of Old English Verse", *Speculum* 37 (1962), 382-9.

4 It deals mainly with the deaths of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, which in fact took place twenty-nine years after the accession of Cynewulf, which is assigned to the year 755 (correct date 757). See note 2, above.

5 See Terence Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics*, New Accents (London, 1977), p.65.

6 See Robert Scholes, *Structuralism in Literature. An Introduction* (New Haven and London, 1974), p.80.

7 For documentation of this view, see pp.86-8 below.

8 See Plummer, I, pp.46, 48, 50. The paragraphing and line-numbering of the text reproduced here are taken from the story as edited in Joyce Hill,

A.R. Taylor and R.L. Thomson, *Beginning Old English*, Leeds Studies in English (Leeds, 1977), pp.40-1, where the paragraphing is the same as that of the text as printed in *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, rev. Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1967), pp.1-3.

9 See *The Parker Chronicle and Laws (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 173) A Facsimile*, ed. Robin Flower and Hugh Smith, EETS, OS 208 (London, 1941), Fols.10^a-10^b.

10 For accounts of the manuscript tradition of the Chronicle, see *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, rev. Whitelock (1967), p.1; Plummer, II, pp.xxiii-cii; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. G.N. Garmonsway, Everyman's Library, (rev.ed., London, 1954), pp.xxxiii-xlii; and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie L. Tucker, (London, 1961), pp.xi-xviii.

11 I am most grateful to Peter Orton for making his transcript available to me for this purpose.

12 See *The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles*, ed. Harry August Rositzke, *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie* 34 (1940), 22-24.

13 See *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius B. iv*, ed. E. Classen and F.E. Harmer, Modern Language Texts, English Series (Manchester, 1926), pp.16-17.

14 See Plummer, I, pp.47, 49, 50.

15 See Plummer, I, pp.46, 47. The Latin text of F has been separately edited by Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "*Annales Domitiani Latini*: an Edition", *Mediæval Studies*, 9 (1947), 235-95.

16 See Waterhouse, 630 (note 2, above).

17 See *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, third edition, ed. Frederic G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler (New York, 1971), p.138.

18 See Adeline Courtney Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, Columbia Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 122 (New York, 1935), p.10.

19 See Battaglia, 176 (note 2, above), and Geffrei Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. Alexander Bell, Anglo-Norman Text Society XIV-XVI (1956-8) (Oxford, 1960), pp.liii-iv.

20 The text of Gaimar quoted here is that of Bell, pp.57-61; and the translation is quoted from *Lestorie des Engles solum la Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy and Charles Trice Martin, II (translation), Rolls Series (London, 1889), pp.59-63. It should be noted that the line numbers of the translation do not correspond exactly to those of Bell's text. Lines 1827-35 may be quoted from the relevant text and translation as follows:

Kenewlf fud [i] dune regnanz	Cynewulf was then holder of the kingdom
Tant que ot regné [plus de] vint anz.	Till he had reigned more than twenty years.
Cel Siebrit k'il ot cacied	This Sigebryht whom he had driven out
Ert sun cusin mais par pechied	Was his kinsman, but by the instigation
E par cunseil de ses baruns	And advice of his lords,
Qui furent fols e mult feluns	Who were foolish and wicked,

[Estait li reis vers li marriz.	The king was angered against him.
Un frere aveit cil Sïebriz]	This Sigebryht had a brother,
Qui Kenehard aveit a nun.	Whose name was Cyneheard

There seems little doubt that the Kenewlf mentioned here is the same person as the Cheolwlf mentioned at l.1909. It may be noted that the square brackets in the quotations from Gaimar enclose letters and words supplied by Bell from manuscripts other than the one on which his edition is based.

21 For a discussion of the latter relationship, see Francis B. Gummere, "The Sister's Son", in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, ed. W.P. Ker, A.S. Napier and Walter W. Skeat (Oxford, 1901), pp.133-49.

22 See Kenneth Sisam, *The Structure of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1965), pp.34-8, 80-2.

23 See *Genesis A: a New Edition*, ed. A.N. Doane (Madison, Wisconsin, 1978), pp.170-1.

24 See Gerald Morgan, "The Treachery of Hrothulf", *English Studies* 53 (1972), 1-17.

25 See *Widsith, a Study in Old English Heroic Legend*, ed. R.W. Chambers (Cambridge, 1912), p.83 ("this tragic background"); *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnesburg*, ed. Fr. Klaeber (third edition, Boston, Mass., 1950), p.xxxvi ("the two tragic motives"); and *Beowulf with the Finnesburg Fragment*, ed. C.L. Wrenn (third edition, rev. W.F. Bolton, 1973), p.68 ("a tragic atmosphere of foreboding").

26 See, for instance, E.V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (Oxford, 1927), p.xlv ("tragic and heroic matter") and *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, rev. Whitelock (1967), p.1 ("the following tragic narrative").

27 See the genealogies in *Laxdœla saga . . .* , ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit V (Reykjavík, 1934), pp.294-5.

28 See *Vatnsdœla saga . . .* , ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk fornrit, VIII (Reykjavík, 1939), pp.50, 53. Both the *Laxdœla* and *Vatnsdœla* cases are noted by Vilhelm Grønbech as examples of threatened relations between kinsmen in his *Vor Folkeæt i Oldtiden*, I (Copenhagen, 1955), pp.44, 50-1.

29 See Theodore M. Andersson, *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origins*, Yale Germanic Studies, I (New Haven and London, 1964), pp.69-81.

30 See, for instance, G. Turville-Petre, "Scaldic Poetry: History and Literature", *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Studies 1969* (1970), pp.7-20, see esp. 15-16; M. Chesnutt, "Popular and Learned Elements in the Icelandic Saga Tradition", in *Proceedings of the First International Saga Conference, University of Edinburgh 1971*, ed. Peter Foote, Hermann Pálsson and Desmond Slay (London, 1973), pp.28-65, see esp. 42-51; and Peter Foote, "New Dimensions in 'Njáls Saga'", *Scandinavica* 18 (1979), 49-58, see esp. pp.49-50.

31 See Henry Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader . . .* (Oxford, 1876), p.187.

32 See Richard Heinzel, *Beschreibung der isländischen Saga*, Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch - Historische Classe 97. Band (Wien, 1881; reprinted New York, 1977), pp.292-3 (292, n.1).

[33] See Plummer II, pp.xix-xx (xix, n.1).

[34] See Gordon, p.xlv.

[35] See Magoun, "Cynewulf", 1.

[36] See R.H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1935) II, p.394.

[37] See C.E. Wright, *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England* (Edinburgh, 1939), p.viii. Wright's book has been instructively reviewed by A.G. Brodeur in the *Journal of American Folklore* 54 (1941), 88-90.

[38] See Wright, pp.78-80.

[39] See Wrenn, "Saga", 208 (note 2, above).

[40] See G. Turville-Petre, "Notes on the Intellectual History of the Icelanders", *History*, New Series, 27 (1942), 111-23.

[41] C.L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London, 1967), pp.202-5.

[42] See G. Turville-Petre, "Intellectual History", 123.

[43] See Roger Fowler, *Old English Prose and Verse* (London, 1966), pp.4-6.

[44] See *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, ed. Cassidy and Ringler (1971), p.138.

[45] See Joan Turville-Petre, "The Narrative Style in Old English", in *Iceland and the Mediaeval World. Studies in Honour of Ian Maxwell*, ed. Gabriel Turville-Petre and John Stanley Martin (Melbourne, 1974), pp.116-25.

[46] See note 32, above.

[47] For documentation of Olrik's writings on this subject, see notes 55 and 122-5, below.

[48] See Joan Turville-Petre, pp.116, 124.

[49] See Knut Liestøl, *The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas* (Oslo, 1930), pp.26-30.

[50] See Heinzel, pp.286-94 (note 32, above).

[51] See Heinzel, pp.298, 300.

[52] See Plummer, II, p.45.

[53] See notes 2 and 4, above. For a speculative explanation of how this insertion came to be made, see Wrenn, "Saga", 213.

[54] Magoun, "Cynewulf", 364, 370, believed that these events, up to and including Cynewulf's battles against the Britons, were meant to form part of the "annal proper".

55 See Axel Olrik, "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative", in *The Study of Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Berkeley, California, 1965), pp.129-41, 138.

56 See Heinzel, pp.282-4.

57 Other possible reasons are discussed below; see p.107 and note 150.

58 See Plummer, II, p.45.

59 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.118, n.6.

60 See Tom H. Towers, "Thematic Unity in the Story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard", *JEGP* 62 (1963), 310-6, esp. pp.314-5. The possibility should be kept in mind that the reference to Sigebryht's "wicked deeds", l.2, *may* be intended to represent the opinions of Cynewulf and the West Saxon council, rather than those of the narrator.

61 See note 50, above, and the reference there given.

62 When the repetition of this construction is being discussed as a possible feature of oral style, it should not be forgotten that the construction itself is particularly common in texts translated from Latin, and is possibly, therefore, of learned as opposed to colloquial origin. See *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer* (ninth edition, rev. Norman Davis, Oxford, 1953), p.51; Bruce Mitchell, *A Guide to Old English* (second edition, Oxford, 1968), p.110, and *Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader*, ed. Cassidy and Ringler (1971), p.115, n.74. It may also be noted that the use of the present participle in Old Icelandic has long been recognized as a feature of learned rather than colloquial style. See Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um Fóstbræðra Sögu*, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, Rit 1 (Reykjavík, 1972), pp.253-5, 277-8.

63 Hodgkin, p.395, divides the Merantun episode into three "scenes", each culminating in the death reported by the use of this construction.

64 Joan Turville-Petre, pp.117, 118, uses the term "rank and file" to translate þa men here, but nevertheless seems to include this group, together with Osric and Wiferþ, among the number of the king's thanes "in the rear".

65 See *The Gospel of Saint Mark*, ed. D.E. Nineham, The Pelican New Testament Commentaries (rev.ed., Harmondsworth, 1969), p.40, second footnote.

66 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.119.

67 See Heinzel, pp.287-8.

68 See Heinzel, p.288.

69 If generian is taken to mean "to keep from destruction, preserve, save", which is the meaning given to this instance of it by T. Northcote Toller in his Supplement to the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* based on the manuscript collections of Joseph Bosworth, see the edition with addenda by Alistair Campbell (Oxford, 1972), then it will be clear that the meaning in the present context could be either: "he (the godson) saved his (own) life" or "he (the ealdorman) saved his (godson's) life". The former interpretation would be advantageous in the present context, though the latter has the advantage of providing an instance of "reconciliation" in the

context of the pattern found by Theodore M. Andersson in a number of Icelandic family sagas, and outlined below in relation to C&C. See pp.114-15 below.

70 See G.F.V. Lund, *Oldnordisk ordföjningslære* (Copenhagen, 1862), pp.468-70; and Heinzel, pp.288-90. In certain of the examples where hafa is omitted in a possessive sense, the attributes possessed are presented in a list-like fashion which has a rhythmical effect.

71 See Fowler, p.210.

72 See Mitchell, pp.109-10; and C.T. Onions, *Modern English Syntax* (London, 1971; a new edition by B.D.H. Miller of Onions' *Advanced English Syntax*), pp.100-1.

73 See Erik Wellander, *Riktig svenska. En handledning i svenska språkets vård* (third edition, Stockholm, 1965), pp.25-6, 57, 68, 276.

74 See Oskar Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax . . .* I (Stuttgart, 1886), p.112.

75 See Heinzel, p.290.

76 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.117, "And then they closed in on it", and, for instance, Garmonsway, p.48, "and then they went thereto".

77 See Heinzel, p.290. In quoting Heinzel in English I have in some cases given his German expressions a somewhat broader meaning than perhaps he intended, in order to allow for as wide a range as possible of Old Icelandic expressions characteristic of the kind of style to which he is here referring.

78 I am grateful to Drs Richard Byrn and Douglas Cossar for confirmation of this information drawn from *Cassell's German & English Dictionary*, ed. Karl Breul and rev. Harold T. Betteridge (eighth edition, London, 1963).

79 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.116.

80 See Joan Turville-Petre, pp.122, 120.

81 See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* trans. Whitelock, Douglas, Tucker (1961), p.xviii.

82 See *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell, Nelson's Medieval Texts (London, 1962), p.23, and his facing translation, "But he came to a decision . . .".

83 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.124.

84 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.120.

85 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.124.

86 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.120.

87 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.119.

88 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.124.

89 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.123.

90 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.122.

91 See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe, II (translation), Rolls Series (London, 1861), pp.42-4. After reading Plummer, II, pp.cxxvii-cxxxvii and Bruce Dickins's "Prefatory Note" to Garmonsway, pp.ix-x, I have felt justified in leaving out of account in what follows the translations of Anna Gurney (1819), J. Ingram (1823), J.A. Giles (1847), J. Stevenson (1853) and E.E.C. Gomme (1909).

92 See John Earle, *English Prose: its Elements, History, and Usage* (London, 1890), pp.372-4.

93 Garmonsway, p.46.

94 See Towers, 311 (note 60, above).

95 See Hodgkin, p.394.

96 See Battaglia, 174 (note 2, above).

97 See James H. Wilson, "Cynewulf and Cyneheard: The Falls of Princes", *Papers on Language and Literature* (1977), pp.312-7, see 313.

98 See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* trans. Whitelock, Douglas, Tucker (1961), p.31.

99 See Mitchell, p.111.

100 See Magoun, "Cynewulf", 375.

101 See Wright, p.79.

102 See Wrenn, "Saga", 211.

103 See Charles Moorman, "The 'A.-S. Chronicle' for 755", *Notes and Queries* 199 (1954), 94-8, p.95.

104 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.116; and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* trans. Whitelock, Douglas, Tucker (1961), p.30.

105 See *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, ed. Henry Petrie (London, 1848), pp.330-3, see 331.

106 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.117. Magoun also has "both" at the appropriate point, where Wright and Whitelock have a dash which suggests much the same interpretation of the passage.

107 See Heinzel, pp.290-1.

108 This is treated below as an example of the "law" of repetition characteristic of oral narrative; see p.105.

109 See Heinzel, pp.290-1. Heinzel's examples from *Fóstbrœðra saga* and *Gísla saga*, and his first two examples from *Heiðarvíga saga*, are among those where the referent of the pronoun is not made clear in advance. This usage may be compared with the "abbreviated pronominal expressions" on the one hand and the uses with proper names of the third person singular masculine and feminine on the other in modern Icelandic. See Stefán Einarsson, *Icelandic Grammar, Texts, Glossary* (Baltimore, 1959), pp.122-3.

110 See Heinzel, p.308, "Anakoluthien".

111 See the quotation given under "Anacoluthia" in the OED.

112 See Henry Sweet, *An Anglo-Saxon Reader . . .* (ninth edition, rev. C.T. Onions, Oxford, 1922), p.1.

113 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.120.

114 An example from Wulfstan's prose of the verb geacsian (*sic*) followed by an accusative and infinitive construction is listed by Jacob Zeitlin in his *Accusative with Infinitive and Some Kindred Constructions in English*, Columbia University Studies in English, Series II, Vol. III, No. 3 (New York, 1908), see p.83.

115 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.120.

116 See *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* ed. Frank Stanton Cawley (Cambridge, Mass, 1932), p.xliv.

117 See p.98, above.

118 See Mitchell, pp.68-70.

119 See Heinzel, pp.292-3 (292, n.1).

120 An idea of the average length of an Icelandic saga may be obtained from Stefán Einarsson's statement: "In length it varies from short stories (þættir) of a page or so to that of a full length novel (Njála)", see his *History of Icelandic Literature* (New York, 1957), p.122.

121 See Olrik, in Dundes, p.131 (note 55, above).

122 See Axel Olrik, "Episke love i folkedigtningen", *Danske studier* (1908), 69-89.

123 See Axel Olrik, "Epische gesetze der volksdichtung", *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 51 (1909), 1-12.

124 See note 55, above.

125 See Axel Olrik, *Nogle grundsætninger for sagnforskning* ed. Hans Ellekilde, Danske folkeminder Nr. 23, (Copenhagen, 1921), pp.66-82.

126 See Dundes, p.129.

127 See David Buchan, "Oral Tradition and Literary Tradition: The Scottish Ballads", in *Oral Tradition, Literary Tradition: A Symposium. Proceedings of the First International Symposium Organized by the Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages. Held at Odense University 22-23 November, 1976*, ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote, Andreas Haarder and Hans Frede Nielsen (Odense, 1977), pp.56-68.

128 cf. Otto Springer, "The Style of the Old Icelandic Family Sagas", *JEGP* 38 (1939), 107-28, pp.111-2.

129 See Foote, "New Dimensions", 50.

130 See, for instance, H. Munro Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (Cambridge, 1905), pp.362-5; Hodgkin, pp.393-5; Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, The Pelican History of England, 2 (rev.ed., Harmondsworth, 1965), pp.32, 37-8, 88; and Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (second edition, Cambridge, 1977), pp.209-11.

131 See notes 2 and 4, above.

132 See G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature* (Oxford, 1953), p.242.

133 See the law of two to a scene, (2), p.104, below.

134 See Hodgkin, p.395.

135 See Carol J. Clover, "Scene in Saga Composition", *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 89 (1974), 57-83, p.58.

136 See Clover, 61. It may be noted that Clover uses the term "anacoluthon" somewhat more widely than Heinzel, allowing it to include changes from indirect to direct speech.

137 A possible reason is that Cynewulf feels relatively safe to banish Sigebryht now that the latter no longer has Cumbra's support; another is that Sigebryht's "wicked deeds" pose a greater threat now that Cumbra is no longer alive to contain them.

138 Possible reasons for this are discussed above, pp.89-90, and below, pp.106-7.

139 See Joan Turville-Petre, p.118.

140 See Waterhouse, esp. pp.631-5.

141 See pp.88-9, above.

142 I have perhaps distinguished rather more rigidly between repetition (4) and patterning (3) than Olrik does himself. Olrik's editor Hans Ellekilde attempts to clarify the distinction by reference to Olrik's lecture notes, pointing out that, in the case of repetition, "the same motif is repeated, whereas patterning reveals itself in the expressions being brought as close to each other as possible. Repetition is a poetic device, but limited

inventiveness makes an author resort to patterning". See Olrik, *Nogle grundsætninger*, pp.145-6 and p.162, note 1 to section 61. In my opinion this does not say enough; the distinction needs to be clarified further.

143 See pp.84-5, 89-90 and 91-2 above.

144 As is shown in particular by the opening adverb Her meaning literally "at this place" but having here the temporal meaning of "in this year". This usage, which is comparable to the manner of indicating important years in tables used for calculating the date of Easter, is profoundly characteristic of annalistic writing. See Plummer, II, p.xxii; and Garmonsway, pp.xx-xxv.

145 See, for instance, Fowler, p.5; *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, rev. Whitelock (1967), p.2; and Hill, Taylor, Thomson, *Beginning Old English*, p.41.

146 It need hardly be said that, in Old English literature, this law is surely best exemplified in *Beowulf*; cf. H.L. Rogers, "Beowulf's Three Great Fights", *Review of English Studies* 6 (1955), 339-55.

147 See Magoun, "Cynewulf", 362.

148 Phyllis Bentley believes it should be; see her *Some Observations on the Art of Narrative* (London, 1946), p.6.

149 See Olrik, in Dundes, p.138.

150 See Waterhouse, 635.

151 See Chadwick, p.363.

152 See *Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, rev. Whitelock (1967), p.221.

153 In connection with the law of patterning, see p.104, above.

154 Magoun "Cynewulf", 369-70 (369, n.5) points out that Privett (Hants.) "is here spoken of as though it were in the Andred Forest which at that time may well have been thought of as extending that far west".

155 It is used attributively as an adjective in the first instance, and adverbially in the second.

156 See Olrik, *Nogle grundsætninger*, p.72.

157 See law (1) and note 137, above.

158 In the context of "reference forward", see p.90, above.

159 See Olrik, *Nogle grundsætninger*, p.72.

160 See Magoun, "Cynewulf", 374.

161 See Grønbech, p.92.

162 See pp.98-9, above.

163 See Olrik, in Dundes, p.134 (where the title of the saga in question is inaccurately presented by Olrik's translator).

164 See Magoun, "Cynewulf", 361.

165 See Olrik, *Nogle grundsætninger*, pp.75-7.

166 See notes 54 and 144, above.

167 See the relevant part of the text of C&C, and the discussion of anacoluthon, pp.99-100, above.

168 I prefer to leave open the question of whether it was available in oral or written form to the person who introduced it into the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the ninth century. See Plummer, II, pp.cii-vi; Garmonsway, pp.xlii-iv; and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Whitelock, Douglas, Tucker (1961), pp.xxi-iii. Three possibilities suggest themselves: either the story had a continuous written history from the time of the events it describes, having been written down shortly after the Merantun affair of 786 and preserved in a written tradition which was used in one of the earliest compilations of the Chronicle; or it was preserved continuously in oral tradition from the time of these events, and formed an oral source for this compilation; or it was preserved at first orally, and then written down, and was available in a written version influenced by oral tradition to one or another of the earliest compilers. The third possibility seems the most likely in the light of the findings of this paper. Cf. also Wrenn, "Saga", 213.

169 See note 30, above.

170 See Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *Saga og samfund*, Berlingske leksikon bibliotek (Copenhagen, 1977), p.116.

171 See Andersson, *Origins*, p.119.

172 See P.G. Foote, "Some Account of the Present State of Saga-Research", *Scandinavica* 4 (1965), 115-26, p.121.

173 See Theodore M. Andersson, *The Icelandic Family Saga. An Analytic Reading*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 28 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p.309.

174 See the review by Bjarne Fidjestøl in *Maal og minne* (1971), 74-84, pp.80-3, and Paul Schach, "Some Observations on the Generation-Gap Theme in the Icelandic Sagas", in *The Epic in Medieval Society. Aesthetic and Moral Values*, ed. Harald Scholler (Tübingen, 1977), pp.361-81, 365-7.

175 See the reviews by B.J. Findlay in *Mediæval Scandinavia* 1 (1968), 178-84, p.179; and Lars Lönnroth in *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 115-9, pp.115-6.

176 See Findlay, 178-81, Lönnroth, 115-6, and the review by R.M. Perkins in *Scandinavica* 6 (1967), 137-9.

177 See Perkins, 137, and the review by Njörður P. Njarðvík in *Skírnir* 142 (1968), 173-8, pp.173-4.

178 See Perkins, 137.

179 See Njarðvík, 177-8.

180 See Richard F. Allen, *Fire and Iron. Critical Approaches to Njáls saga* (Pittsburgh, 1971), p.96.

181 In a paper on "Pseudoarchaism and Fiction in *Króka-Refs saga*" delivered by Frederic Amory at the Fourth International Saga Conference, Munich, July 30-August 4, 1979 (unpublished).

182 See the quotation from Einar Ól. Sveinsson in Andersson, *Family Saga*, p.6.

183 See Andersson, *Family Saga*, p.29.

184 See Andersson, *Family Saga*, p.29.

185 See note 69, above.

186 See Andersson, *Family Saga*, p.26.

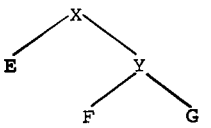
AN ANONYMOUS OLD ENGLISH HOMILY FOR HOLY SATURDAY

By RUTH EVANS

The homily edited below is extant in three homiliaries of the early eleventh century - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342 (E); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 (F), and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162 (G).[1] It has not previously been published. The piece is designated B.3.2.25 by Angus Cameron.[2] Its chief interest lies in its contribution to our knowledge of the homiletic tradition before Ælfric, about which little is known at present. All three manuscripts are made up largely of homilies from the First and Second Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, representing a rearrangement and conflation of these two cycles, but these are interspersed with some anonymous items, including the homily edited below.[3] Important collections of anonymous homilies are found in the Vercelli and Blickling manuscripts of the late tenth century, and are primary sources of information about this early tradition, but this knowledge is considerably supplemented by the anonymous items found scattered in very early eleventh century manuscripts, such as Bodley 340 and 342, and CCCC 162.[4] Many of the homilies not attributed to a known author are available in published editions, although some editors have not collated all the extant versions, but several still remain unpublished, and while this is so our knowledge of the early tradition is necessarily incomplete.[5]

Affiliation of the Manuscripts

Sisam was the first to point out the similarities between E and the earliest section of F (designated F Part I);[6] both have similar sequences combining homilies from the First and Second Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* with anonymous items. Thus articles 1-7 and 9-32 in E correspond to those same articles in F Part I;[7] E's article 8 is Vercelli IX, replaced in F by an Ælfrician homily for the same day. Items 1, 7 and 19-26, shared by E and F, are anonymous. Sisam's statement that F "is a copy, with displacements and modifications, of the series found in" E needs some qualification,[8] for although E and F Part I draw ultimately on a common ancestor, sample collations from the anonymous items in E, F and G show significant variant readings where FG are in agreement against E,[9] which clearly demonstrates that FG share a common antecedent (Y) which represents an intermediary stage between the common ancestor of all three manuscripts (X) and FG. The following stemma shows the relationship between the manuscripts:



This common antecedent (Y) of F Part I and G omits many of the archaisms of E to conform to the late West Saxon standard; this is certainly the situation in the Holy Saturday homily edited below.[10] This suggests that Y was compiled only a short while before F and G, or at any rate in the late West Saxon period.

E and F Part I follow the order of the Church Year; the presence of some of the anonymous items in an otherwise Ælfrician collection can be explained by the fact that Ælfric made either insufficient provision or none at all for certain periods of the year, and expressly forbade preaching on the Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week.[11] Like E and F Part I, G draws on a series derived from the *Catholic Homilies*, supplemented with anonymous pieces, but the compiler differs from E and F in his selection of items, and the saints are excluded.[12] G's articles 1-8 are homilies for general occasions, whereas EF's 1-7 follow the Church year. G's article 9 corresponds to F's 8 (an Ælfric homily); G's 10 is EF's 9; G's 11-13 are EF's 15-17; G's 16 is EF's 18. The first anonymous item shared by all three manuscripts is G's article 19 (EF's 19), Vercelli III. G shares four other anonymous pieces with EF, the homilies for Palm Sunday and the Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week (G's 28-31; EF's 23-26). This shared block of anonymous items, containing the homily edited below, is the strongest link between the three manuscripts, all of which must have drawn ultimately on a common antecedent in which this block appeared. The interrelationship of this group has not yet been sufficiently investigated, although D.G. Scragg tentatively suggests that the Palm Sunday homily is different from the others, but that the remaining three are linked by several cross-references and verbal echoes, although they are probably not the work of one author.[13]

To sum up, then, it appears that in E and F we have separate copies of a basically Ælfrician homiliary which itself cannot have been composed long before the writing of E, while in G we have an adapted version of that homiliary, taken from a copy which is linguistically closer to F than to E. E has been chosen as the base text since it is the most conservative of all three manuscripts, retaining many archaic and unusual linguistic features which are not found in F and G.[14] It is fortunate that the copy of the text in E has escaped correction, for elsewhere in the manuscript there are extensive eleventh century corrections by a Rochester scribe.[15] External evidence suggests that all three manuscripts have a south-eastern provenance, and that the early preservation of E and G was also in the south-east.[16]

The aim of this edition is to make available a text that is known to be early, by virtue of the early date of the manuscripts in which it appears, which contains interesting and unusual

linguistic and stylistic features, and which is a not insubstantial witness of the pre-Ælfrician homiletic tradition.

EDITORIAL METHOD

I. *Text*

Punctuation, capitalisation, word-division and paragraphing are editorial. Editorial emendations are enclosed in square brackets, [ ]. Interlinear and marginal insertions are enclosed in upper half brackets, ⌜ ⌝, and are the work of the original scribe unless otherwise indicated. Scribal accent marks are reproduced. Latin quotations are italicised; the scribe makes a comparable distinction, using insular script for English and Caroline minuscule for Latin. Such a practice is usual, and is found in many Ælfrician manuscripts; the scribe of G makes the same distinction, although not the scribe of F. All abbreviations have been expanded, but the Tironian note (7) has been retained. Expansions in the English are underlined. In the Latin quotations the expansions are in normal typeface. The abbreviation for *et* (&) is silently expanded. A list of typical abbreviations and their expansions is given below, p.133. There is a difficulty in the text at line 331; although there is no lacuna in the manuscript, it seems that a word or words are missing before the expression "arleasra manna". This is indicated by a series of dots.

II. *Apparatus*

The apparatus has been divided into three sections: (i) manuscript variants; (ii) glosses in F; (iii) some later additions in G. Policy in respect of variants is set out at the beginning of Apparatus (i). Scribal accent marks in F and G are not included. Underlinings in the texts are not normally noticed; they mainly occur in F and G, either as a form of cancellation or else as a type of "signe de renvoi" when glosses and additions are inserted. Capital letters are not generally used in the apparatus. The lemmata and variant readings are in normal typeface, since all abbreviations are expanded silently in this part of the apparatus; all other comments are italicised. Omission of letters in a long lemma is indicated by a series of dots. Interlinear and marginal insertions are enclosed in upper half brackets, and are the work of the scribe unless otherwise indicated. Variants are cited in the order (E), F, G. Round brackets indicate lacunae; dots show the approximate number of missing or erased letters.

The second section of the apparatus contains the glosses in F. These are the work of the thirteenth century Worcester scribe with the "tremulous" hand. I have written elsewhere on his glosses and annotations as they appear in this homily.[17] Expansions of abbreviations in the glosses are italicised. Square brackets indicate editorial additions.

The third section of apparatus concerns only the text in G. Two eleventh century hands have made annotations to the copy of the homily in G. One hand has made extensive corrections, and these are noticed in the manuscript variants, Apparatus (i). Another hand has

These tables summarise the information contained in the preceding pages.

I. TABLE SHOWING ITEMS IN COMMON IN E, F AND G

E Vol I	F Part I	G
1-7	1-7	
	8	9
9	9	10
10	10	
11	11	
12	12	
13	13	
14	14	
15	15	11
16	16	12
17	17	13
18	18	16
19	19	19
20	20	
21	21	
22	22	
23	23	28
24	24	29
25	25	30
26	26	31 B.3.2.25
27	27	
28	28	33
29	29	34
30	30	
31	31	
32	32	

II. TABLE SHOWING CORRESPONDENCE OF ANONYMOUS ITEMS IN E, F AND G

E Vol I	F Part I	G
1	1	
7	7	
19	19	19
20	20	
21	21	
22	22	
23	23	28
24	24	29
25	25	30
26	26	31

made additions which suggest that the homily in G was adapted for preaching on an actual occasion and may even have been delivered - a phrase such as "þe to morgenne bið" has additions to read "þe nu todæg is". There are not many of these additions, but their purpose becomes clearer when collected together in a third section of the apparatus. It is not always easy to distinguish between the hands of the two annotators in G.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. *Latin*

Conventional scribal abbreviations are used in all three manuscripts. The following list is not exhaustive but shows the range of abbreviations found in the texts.

adꝓpinquauit	= *adpropinquauit*	sc̄a	= *Sancta*
aspectꝰ	= *aspectus*	scorm	= *sanctorum*
autē	= *autem*	sc̄s	= *Sanctus*
dix	= *dixit*	sic̄	= *sicut*
dn̄i	= *Domini*	st	= *sunt*
dn̄s	= *Dominus*	supꝛ	= *super*
eū	= *eum*	vestimta	= *vestimenta*
eiꝰ	= *eius*	xp̄o	= *Christo*
ihs	= *Iesus*	&	= *et*
pilatꝰ	= *Pilatus*		

II. *English*

The nasal tilde to indicate m: gelāp = gelamp; godū = godum.
The nasal tilde to indicate -ne: þon̄ = þonne.
The macron to indicate -er: æft = æfter.
The macron over cw to indicate cwæð.
Crossed h: drint = drihten.
Crossed þ: þ = þaet.

NOTES

1 The manuscript sigla are those proposed by D.G. Scragg in his article, "The corpus of vernacular homilies and prose saints' lives before Ælfric", *Anglo-Saxon England*, 8 (1979), 224-5. The relevant entry numbers in N.R. Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957) are as follows: E = Ker 309; F = Ker 48; G = Ker 38. Descriptions of the manuscripts are also found in John C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric; A Supplementary Collection*, EETS 259 and 260 (London, 1967-8), Vol. I, 20-24, D.G. Scragg, "Corpus", 237-43, and Malcolm Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series, Text*, EETS, SS 5 (London, 1979), pp.xxv-xxxiii. The present edition is based in part on my MA thesis, "An Edition of an Old English Homily for Holy Saturday in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 and MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162" (Manchester, 1977). The manuscripts have been reexamined and the presentation of the apparatus reconsidered. I would like to thank the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Keeper of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library for access to unpublished manuscripts in their care. I am grateful to D.G. Scragg for helpful comments on this article.

2 Angus Cameron, "A List of Old English Texts", *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Roberta Frank and Angus Cameron (Toronto, 1973).

3 See Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp.xxv-xxxiii. For a discussion of the relationship between the two-volume homiliary Bodley 340 and 342, and the *Catholic Homilies*, see Kenneth Sisam, "MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*", *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp.148-98. On the relationship between CCCC 198, CCCC 162 and the *Catholic Homilies*, see Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, pp.20-4.

4 For a survey of all the manuscripts containing anonymous homiletic prose, see Scragg, "Corpus".

5 For a table listing all the anonymous items by Cameron reference number, and their availability in an edition or editions (if any), see Scragg, "Corpus", 267-77.

6 Sisam, *Studies*, pp.154 sq. F Part I is the original collection (Ker 48, articles 1-43). See also Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp.xxix-xxx.

7 Reference is to Ker's article numbers.

8 *Studies*, p.155.

9 Scragg, "Corpus", 241, especially fn. 2. See also my Manchester MA thesis, pp.10-15, and Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p.xxxlii and fn. 2. Godden (p.xxx) also reports on the basis of some of the Ælfric items, that F cannot derive from E, because it lacks many of E's variant readings.

10 See my Manchester MA thesis.

11 See *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (London, 1844), I, 218: "Circlice ðeawas forbeodað to secgenne ænig spel on þam þrym swig-dagum". I owe this reference to D.G. Scragg.

12 See Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, pp.22-3. In fact, the opening sentences of a homily on St Augustine of Canterbury are added in a near-contemporary hand at the end.

13 "Corpus", 239-40.

14 See my Manchester MA thesis. Rare or otherwise unrecorded vocabulary in the E text of the Holy Saturday homily and the homilies for the Thursday and Friday of Holy Week has been noted by A.S. Napier, *Contributions to Old English Lexicography*, repr. from *TPS* 1903-6; Max Förster, *Die Vercelli-Homilien: I-VIII Homilie*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 12 (Hamburg, 1932, repr. Darmstadt, 1964); and Rudolph Willard, "Gleanings in Old English Lexicography", *Anglia*, 54 (1930), 8-24. I owe this reference to D.G. Scragg.

15 Ker, *Catalogue*, p.361.

16 On E and F see Sisam, *Studies*, pp.151-3 and 155, fn.4; and on G see Ker, p.56. On F and G see also Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric*, pp.22-4.

17 Ruth Evans, "Worcester Glosses in an Old English Homily", *Notes and Queries*, NS 26 (1979), 393-5.

DE SABBATO SANCTO

(E, f. 144)

Men ða leofestan, magon we hwylcumhwega wordum secgan be ðære arwurðnysse þisse halgan tíde 7 þeoses halgan dæges, þe nu þyses morgenes andweard bið; 7 þeahðe us syn ealle þa halgan drihtenlican tída 7 eac his þæra haligra, þa ðe ymb twelf monað beoð, mid hea lofe to weorðienne 7 to wuldrienne, hwæðere þeos is ofer ealle oðre heah 7 halig 7 geond ealne middaneard on drihtenlicum ciricum rihtlicost to wurþienne.

Weorðedan we ær to wintre æt geolum þæne drihtenlican gebyrddæg, þa he us luflice 7 eadmodlice hider on middaneard gesohte on menniscne hád 7 on menniscum lichaman. Þonne wæs (f.144v) on ðas halgan tíd, þæt we nu on andweardnysse wurþiað þæt he ure Drihten mancynne swa cuðlice gecydde lif æfter deaðe, 7 þeahðe he hit ær beforan þurh his þa halgan béc toweard sæde 7 gehete, he þæt þonne nu on ðeosse wundorlican symbelnysse openlice gecydde þurh his sylfes lichaman ærest, þe he ær onfeng to his godcundnysse, 7 eac þurh manegra oðera haligra manna, þa ðe eac mid him of deaðe arison 7 efne soðlice manna wæron. Swa Sanctus Matheus be ðan cwæð, *Multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierunt surrexerunt cum* Christo; þætte efne mænige lichaman haligra manna, þa ðe miccle ær forðferede wæron, mid him Drihtne of byrgenum arison 7 forð eodon, 7 heo þær manegum mannum on Hierusalem æteowdan 7 him wið spræcon.

Þonne saegð Sanctus Matheus se godspellere þeosne halgan lection be ðære gerynelican arwurðnysse Drihtnes æristes, hu seo geworden wære, 7 þus cwæð, *Uespere autem Sabbati que lucesscit in prima Sabbati, uenit Maria Magdalene et altera Maria uidere sepulcrum.* He cwæð, "Þy æfenne þæs restedæges, se ðe lihteð on ðæne ærestan restedæg, þa com Maria seo Magdalenisca 7 oðer Maria, þaet wæs Cristes lichamlice modor, to ðære byrigenne. 7 þa wæs micel eorðhrernys geworden þa se drihtenlica ærist gelamp, 7 Drihtnes engel astah of heofonum 7 eode (f.145) to ðære byrgenne, 7 þone stán aweg awelede þe sy byrgen mid betyned wæs, 7 þa gesæt ofer þam stane".

Erat autem aspectus eius sicut fulgor et uestimenta eius sicut nix. Þæs engles ansyn wæs swa beorht 7 egeslic swa legetu, 7 his hrægl wæron swa hwit swa snaw, 7 for ðam egsan þæs engles ansynes þa weardas wæron afærede 7 hellheorte, 7 efne swa forht swa heo deade wæron.

Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus, 'Nolite timere uos'. Þa andswarode he se engel 7 cwæð to ðam halgan wifmannum, "Ne ondrædað eow. Ic wát", he cwæð, "þæt ge secað ðone Nazareniscan Hælend þe for manna lufan ahangen wæs. Nis he her þurh lichamlice andweardnysse, ac he aras swa he ær sylf sæde, þæt he eft þy þriddan dæge of deaðe arisan wolde". *'Uenite, et uidete locum ubi positus erat Dominus'.* "Cumað nu hider", cwæð

he, "7 geseoð þa stowe þe se drihtenlica lichama ongeseted wæs, 7 gangað þonne hraðe 7 secgað his þegnum þæt seo ærist is soðlice geworden, 7 þæt heo f[a]ran on Galileam, on ðæt þeodland þær heo hine ærest geseon sceolon, swa ic eow nu sæde."

Heo þa dydon þa halgan wif swa him se engel bebead, 7 eodon fram þære byrgene mid egsan 7 mid fyrhtum 7 mid miccle gefean. Þa com he Crist him togeanes. Grette heo þa 7 him cwæð to, "Wesað hale". Þa eodon þa halgan wif to him Criste, 7 hine be his fotum genaman 7 him to gebædon. Þa cwæð he (f.145v) Crist to heom, "Ne ondrædað ge eow. Ac gað nu 7 secgað minum gebroðrum þæt heo faran on Galileam þær heo ærest me geseon sceolon".

Nu we gehyrdon þæt stær anlepig þeoses halgan lectiones reccan 7 secgan. Uton þonne eac nu þone traht þærto gehyran, 7 þas halgan rædinge eft hwilcumhwega wordum ofercweðan, þæt we þy eðelicor magon ongytan hu þis eall gedon 7 geworden ⌜wære⌝. Hwæt, we gehyrdon þæt se godspellere cwæð, þæt Sancta Maria, Cristes lichamlice modor, 7 þa oðre wifmen þa ðe eac mid hire wæron, þæt heo to ðære byrgenne comon þy æfenne þæs restedæges, se ðe lihteð on ðone ærestan restedæg; he mihte cweðan, þy dæge þe to morgenne bið. Swa Marcus se oðer godspellere cwæð, *Orto iam sole*; þæt hit wære æt sunnan upgange. Lucas cwæð, *Ualde diluculo*; þæt hit wære swiðe ær on morgene. Þonne cwæð Iohannes, *Cum adhuc tenebre essent*; þætte þa gýta wæron þeostro, þa heo þa halgan wif to ðære byrgenne comon 7 þa drihtenlican ærist gewordene gesawon. Ne wæs þæt æniges liges tacen, þeahðe þa godspelleras þæt sumum wordum todældon 7 swa ungelice cwædon, ac heora æghwylc þæs soð sǽde, forðanðe heo Sancta Maria 7 þa oðre wifmenn, þa ðe eac mid hire wæron, ealle þa niht wacedon 7 gelomlice to ðære byrgenne eodan 7 eft fram, for ðære micclan lufan (f.146) þe heo to him Drihtne hæfdon, 7 eac for ðam hihte þære æriste, þe he Crist him ær toweard sæde, þætte æfter his þrowunge geweorðan sceolde. Heo þreo ealle þæt gelice cwædon 7 ane andgyte, þeahðe heo hit sumum wordum tocwæden.

Hwæt, we witan þonne hit on morgene ærest dagian onginneð, þæt þonne gýt beoð þeostru; hwæt, þæt þonne bið eac swylce swiðe ær on morgenne, ge efne æt sunnan upgange, forðan þæt leoht 7 seo dagung hwanon cymð þæt elles buton fram þære sunnan, þeahðe we þonne gýt þa sunnan sylfe geseon ne magon, forðan seo sunne hafað þonne mid þy heofone þas eorðan utan ymbswifen 7 ymbcerred. Þonne astigað heo þanon eastan up swa we geseon magon. Ac he Sanctus Matheus ana þæt deagollice 7 gerynelice spræc, 7 cwæð þæt hit wære þy æfenne þæs restedæges, 7 wæs hwæðere on ærne merigen swa þa oðre godspelleras sædon. Ac forðan he þæt cwæð þe hit þa wæs þære nihte æfen, swa þæs dæges æfen bið þonne seo niht cymð, swa þonne bið eac þære nihte æfen þonne se dæg cymð. *Uespere autem Sabbati*. He cwæð, "Þi æfenne þæs restedæges, se ðe lihteð on ðone ærestan restedæg".

Hwæt, we witan symle þonne hit æfnað, þonne þeostrað hit næs na leohteð, 7 þæt leoht wanað næs na wexeð. Sanctus Matheus þæt ana deagollice 7 gerynelice spræc be ðære weorðunge þysse halgan nihte, efne swa swa heo eall gastlice (f.146v) onlihted beon sceolde þurh þa gefǽalican wyrde þære drihtenlican

æriste, þe on ðysse halgan nihte ende geworden wæs, þa hit furðum dagian ongan. Hwæt, we þæt witan 7 eac leorniað þætte ær beforan æt frymðe worulde seo niht symble fylgde þone dæg, æfter þære endebyrdnysse þe heo æt frymðe ongesceapene wæron. Ac þa seo drihtenlice ærist gewearð on ðysse halgan nihte ufanweardre, þa wæs syððan a ðurh þæt seo endebyrdnys oncerred þara tída, 7 syððan á se dæg fylgde þa niht. Swa we nu þa drihtenlican niht næmniað Sunnanniht, 7 þonne eft on morgenne þone dæg hatað Sunnandæg, 7 we swa eall þæt rim þæra dogra æfter þære endebyrdnysse tellað.

Is þæt micel becnung gastlicra þinga seo oncyrnys þæra tída, forðan mancynn wæs æt frymðe worulde efne swa hit on lihte 7 on dæge gesceapen 7 geseted wære, þa he ure Drihten þa menniscan gecynd to his sylfes anlicnysse gesceop on snyttru 7 on wisdome 7 on foreþancolnysse. Ac syððan mancynn þa eft æfter þan on deofolgyld gecyrdon 7 þurh mænigfealde synne fram heora Scyppende gewitan, þa wæs efne on ða anlicnysse swa seo swearte niht æfter þam hluttrestan dæges leohte come, 7 syððan a ðeostru þære ungeleafsumnysse on manncynne sæton, oðþæt se Ælmihtiga God hine sylfne to ðan geeadmedde, þæt he us hider (f.147) on middaneard gesohte on menniscum hade 7 on menniscum lichaman. He us þa æghwæðer ge mid wordum ge mid bisenum lærde, hu we of synnum 7 of deofles anwealde acerran sceoldan 7 eac helle tintregu befleon 7 þæt heofuncunde wuldor begytan.

Swa Sanctus Paulus se apostol cwæð, *Nox precessit; dies autem adpropinquauit*. He cwæð, "Seo niht forð gewát þære unge[leaf]sumnysse, ac nu se dæg genealæceð soðes wisdomes". Uton us forðan fram aweorpan ealra þeostra weorc, 7 þæt mán ealra yfelra dæda, 7 uton us gegearwian 7 gefrætewian mid þam wæpnum þæs soðan leohtes þæt is mid Drihtnes geleafan 7 mid gódum dædum, to ðam þæt we magon gangan bealdlice 7 arwurðlice swa swa on dæges leohte, forðan se dæg bið symble getacnod to soðfæstes mannes life 7 seo niht to synfulles mannes.

Que lucessit in prima Sabbati. "Se ðe lihteð", cwæð se godspellere, "on ðone ærestan restedæg". Hwæt wæs se æresta restedæg þe he on ðam wordum mænde, buton þæt wæs se halga drihtenlica dæg þe we nu Sunnandæg nemniað? Forðan se wæs ærest daga on ðysse niwan é mancynne to reste geboden for ðære arwurðnysse þære drihtenlican æriste. Wæs se eac ærest daga gesceapen æt frymðe worulde, 7 ealle þa gastlican wyrde, þa ðe syððan æfre on ðysum middanearde mæste 7 hehste gewurdan, ealle mæste þa ge(f.147v)wurdan on ðam drihtenlican dæge, on Sunnandæge. Forðan æghwylc þære manna, se ðe þone nu healdan nyle mid are 7 mid reste 7 on weorðunge, þonne abrecð se Godes é 7 his haligra gesetnysse þæt wæs on ðam dæge þe to merigene bið, þætte Sancta Maria 7 þa halgan wifmen mid swetum wyrtum 7 mid deorwurðum smyrenyssum to ðære drihtenlican byrgenne coman, þæt heo his þone halgan lichaman mid þam smyrian woldan, þý læs he brosnian mihte. Mid þy wæs getacnod þæt we ealle, þe on ðone ilcan Drihten gelefað 7 his naman andettað, þæt we hine sceolon þurh halige lustas 7 þurh manige halige dæde gelomlice secan 7 mid ure modgeðance ofer ealle oðre þing to hycgan 7 to hihtan.

Et ecce terremotus factus est magnus. He cwæð on ðam

godspelle þætte þa wære micel eorðrernys geworden þa seo drihtenlice ærist gelamp. Hwæt, we þæt on Godes bocum gesewen habbað, þætte hwene ær beforan nu on ðysum Frigendæge, þa he ure Drihten for ealles mancynnes hælu deað geðrawade, þæt þa eac micel eorðrernys gewearð, 7 þeos eorðe eall gebifode 7 aforhtade for ðære micclan wyrde, 7 þeos sune sylf 7 ealle þa heofonlican tungol heora leoht behyddan, 7 þæt mán 7 þæt morðor geseon noldon þe her men on eorðan wið heora Scyppend fremedon. Ac efne æt middum (f.148) dæge, þa se dæg beorhtast 7 leohtast beon sceolde, þa geðeostrade he 7 efne fæstlice genihtade ofer eallne middaneard a fram middum dæge oð non. Wæs on ðan getacna[ð] 7 gecyðed hu ðeostre 7 hu blinde Iudea heortan wæron, þa ðe ures Drihtnes cyme ær toweardne sædon 7 on heora bocum geleornod hæfdon, 7 þa hwaeðere swylc mán 7 swylc morðor dydon. Swylc[e] eac wæs on ðære eorðhrernysse getacnod þa eorðlican heortan manna, þa ðe þurh ungeleafsumnysse fram Gode gewitene wæron, þætte þa sceoldon beon eft þurh his þrowunge to hreowe 7 to bote gecyrde, 7 eft þurh hine Drihten to ecere hæle becuman.

Angelus enim Domini descendit de cælo. Hwæt, we gehyrdon þæt se godspellere cwæð, þæt Drihtnes engel come of heofonum 7 þa eode to ðære byrgenne 7 þone stan aweg adyde þe seo drihtenlice byrgen betyned wæs, 7 þa gesæt ofer þam stane. Næs na þæt se engel þider to þan come þæt he urum Drihtne fultumian sceolde æt þære his æriste, ac seo ærist wæs ær geworden ær se engel þær come. Ac to þan he þyder com þæt he þære drihtenlican æriste beon [sceolde] gewita 7 þam mannum cyðan 7 secgan swa he þa dyde, 7 eac to ðan þæt he þa byrgenne ontynde 7 þone stán aweg adyde þæt men mihton þy eðelicor ongytan þæt seo drihtenlice ærist soðlice geworden wære.

Sægeð oðer (f.148v) godspellere þæt se stan wære swiðe micel þe Iudeas þa byrgenne mid betyndon 7 gefæstnedan, 7 þa æfter þan eodan to ðan heora unlædan gerefan, þe Pilatus wæs gehaten. Brohton him feoh, 7 þa on oll 7 on edwit swa bismerlice be ðam Hælende to him spræcon, 7 þus cwædon, "Min domne, we magon gemunan þæt se æswica cwæð, þæt he wolde þy þriddan dæge of deaðe arisan. Ac hat nu healdan his lichaman, þy læs wen sy þæt his þegnas cumen on niht to 7 hine forstele[n], 7 þonne syððan sy se neara gedwola wyrse þonne se ærra". Tealdon heo earme 7 heo unlæde þæt se Drihten 7 se Wealdend mihte on byrgenne beon bemiðen 7 behyded, þone þe ealle gesceafta ymbfon 7 ymbgripan ne magon.

Et sedebat super eum. He sæde, se godspellere, þæt se engel sæte ofer þam stane. Næs na þæt he werig wære, forðanþe he hine ær onweg adyde, ac he mid þy his setle getacnade haligra manna ærist, hu wlitige 7 hu wundorlice heo beoð æfter þysse worulde. Forðan halige men, þeahðe heo nu ær her on worulde mænigfealde sorhge 7 earfoðnysse þrowian, hwæðere him bið ece rest witud 7 agen siððan h[i] þis deadlice líf forlæt[a]ð.

Erat autem aspectus eius sicut fulgor et uestimenta eius sicut nix. "Þæs engles ansyn", cwæð se godspellere, "wæs swa beorht 7 swa egeslic swa swa ligetu, 7 his hrægl wæron swa hwit swa snaw". Se engel getacnoðe mid þy egeslican (f.149) onseone 7 mid þy his beorhtan gegyrlan þæt se Drihten, se ðe he ða his

ærist gewordene sæde, þæt se nu hwænne swiðe egeslice 7 swiðe strange 7 swiðe heardwendlice on synfullum mannum heora leahtras 7 heora facenfullan dæda wrecað, 7 þæt he eac ealle his þa halgan swiðe arfæstlice 7 mildheortlice afrefrað. 7 forðan he se engel on swa egeslicum onsyne æteowde, þæt þæra wearda mód sceolde beon þy forhtra, þa ðe Iudeas þær setton þæt þa byrgenne healdan sceoldan. Swa swa hit be ðan on ðeosum halgan lectione gecweden is, þæt for ðam egsan þæs engles ansynes þa weardas wæron afærede 7 hellheorte, 7 efne swa forhte gewordene swa heo deade wæron.

Uestimenta autem eius sicut nix. He cwæð þæt þæs engles hrægl wæron swa hwít swa snaw. Næs na þætte engles syn mid lichamlicum hræglum gegerede oððe him þæs ænig þearf sy, forðanðe hi ealle syndon gastlicre gecynde, ac he se engel mid þy his beorhtan gegyrlan tacnade hu wlitige 7 hu wundorlice þa eadigan sawla beoð æfter þysse worulde, syððan heo þis deadlice líf forlætað. Swa Sanctus Iohannes se apostol cwæð, *Data sunt illis stole albe et dictum est illis ut requiescerent.* "Him beoð gesealde", cwæð he, "syndrie hwite gegerelan 7 beorhte, 7 him bið gecweden to þæt heo restan 7 gefeonde bidan oðþaet þaet rim sy gefylled heora efenþeowa". Forðan he cwæð, (f.149v) "syndrie beorhte gegyrlan", forðan halige menn, þonne hi of lichaman gangað, þonne heora sawle ane wuldor onfoð. Ac þonne þæt geweorðað nu hwonne æt Domesdæge, þæt he ure Drihten æghwilcne lichaman of byrgenum aweceð 7 forð lædeð, 7 þa ilcan sawle onsendeð þe him ær on wæs, þonne heo onfoð syððan twyfealde eadignysse on heo[fon]a ríce, þæt is, þonne þæt heo a syððan ecelice mid lichaman 7 mid sawle wuldres brucað, ealle þa ðe ær mid lichaman Gode þeowiað 7 heora lif mid rihte libbað. 7 forðan he se engel hine on swa beorhtum gegyrelan æteowde, þæt þæra haligra wifa mod sceolde beon þy unforhtra 7 þe swiðor afrefred, þe heo þyder mid geleafan 7 mid lufan to ðære byrgenne coman. Swa he forðan swiðe arwurðlice 7 mildheortlice to him spræc 7 heo lærde þæt heo næron to forhte, ac þæt heo mid gefean þam Drihtnes þegnum þa ærist gewordene sædon, 7 het hi faran on Galileam, on þæt þeodland, þæt heo hine Drihten ærest geseon sceolden, swa he ær his þrowunge sylf gesæd hæfde.

Et exierunt cito de monumento cum timore et gaudio magno. Heo ða eodan þa halgan wifmenn swa him beboden wæs; eodan ofestlice fram þaere byrgenne mid egsan 7 mid fyrhtu 7 eac mid geleafan, 7 þæs Hælendes þegnum þa drihtenlican ærist gewordene sædon. Þa com he Crist togeanes þam wifum. Grette heo þa (f.150) sona fægrum wordum, 7 him cwæð to, "*Hauete.* Wesað hale". Tacnode he ure Drihten on ðam þæt æghwylc þæra manna, þe nu on gódum dædum gangan wile, þætte æghwylcum þæra þurh his geofe fultum ongean cymð, 7 hine to ecum life gelædeð. He cwæð þæt he heo fægrum wordum grette, 7 þus cwæde, "Wesað hale", efne swa swa he cwæde, "Habbað sibbe 7 onfoð bletsunge; 7 þæt witað þæt seo awerigednys, þe ða ærestan men þurh heora agyltnysse geworhtan 7 on mancynne gebrohtan, þæt seo is nu adwæsced 7 adilgad þurh me 7 þurh minne ærist".

Illi autem accesserunt et tenuerunt pedes eius et adorauerunt eum. Þa eodan þa halgan wif to him Criste, 7 hine be his fotum genaman 7 him to gebædon. Wæs on ðan cuð þæt he hæfde soðne

lichaman æfter þære his æriste, þa heo him hrinan mihton; 7 þonne hwene ær beforan sægð þæt he út of ðære byrgenne swa betynedre arise 7 ut eode, wæs on ðan gecyðed þæt se his lichama wæs þa undeadlic æfter þære æriste, þa he of ðære byrgenne swa betynedre ut gangan mihte. Wæs se his lichama þære ilcan gecynde þe he ær wæs, ac he wæs hwæðere wundorlicra geworden þurh þa undeadlicnysse.

Respondens autem Iesus mulieribus, 'Nolite timere'. Þa cwæð Crist to ðam halgan wifum, "Ne ondrædað eow", cwæð he, "ac gað 7 secgað minum gebroðrum (f.150v) þæt heo faren on Galileam, on þæt þeodland, þæt heo me geseon sceolan".

Hwæt, we nu magon on ðysum wordum ongytan þa micclan eadmodnysse ures Drihtnes, þe he wið mancynn gecydde. We men, þe þæs wyrðe ne syndon þæt we his þeowas sien gecwedene, 7 he hwæðere us him to broðrum 7 to bearnum nemde. I[s] þæt swiðe micel ár 7 wurðmynt þæt we men magon beon Gode sylfum to broðrum 7 to bearnum genemde. Ac uton gemunan þæt we sceolon mid halgum dædum 7 mid soðfæstum us þa wurðmyndo geearnian. Ealle þa ðe nu willað beon bilewite 7 mildheorte him betwynan 7 arfæ⌈s⌉te wið oðre men, heo habbað Godes lufan 7 manna on rihtne hád; ealle þa beoð þurh þæt Gode sylfum to broðrum 7 to bearnum gewordene, 7 hi moton to widan feore beforan Cristes sylfes ansyne gefean 7 blissian. Swylce eac ealle þa ðe nu synne 7 mándæde fremmeð, 7 heo oferhydige 7 inwitfulle beoð, 7 unarfulle wið oðre men 7 þeofet 7 unriht geligeru begangað, 7 earme men forneomað 7 fordemað, ealle þa beoð þurh þæt deofle sylfum to broðrum 7 to bearnum genemde 7 gewordene.

Uton gemunan hu sarlice 7 hu geomorlice se ealda feond manncynnes ure þa ærestan ealdras, Adam 7 Efan, neorxnawonges fægernysse bereafode, 7 heo mid his facne 7 inwite beswác 7 forlærde, þæt heo on ðære byrignysse þæra beweredra blæda heora Scyp(f.151)pendes bebod, Ælmihtiges Godes, awegan 7 oferferdon; 7 þa þurh þæt of ðam eadiglican life 7 of engla gesiðscipe on ðas sarlican woruld 7 on ðas niðerlican wræce aworpene 7 asende wurdon, þe we nu heron libbað 7 drohtniað. Ge efne se gylt gewearð to ðan grim manncynne, þætte ne wæs syððan æfre ænig mennisc lichama þætte ne sceolde deað þrowian, ne þæt gýta sarlicra wæs þætte ne wæs æfre ænig to ðæs halig mann on his life þæt he hwæðere to heofona rice moste ærðan þeos halige Drihtnes æristtíd geworden wæs. Ac þa halgan men 7 þa gedefan, þa ðe ær beforan þan góde 7 fullfremede wæron, þonne heo of lichaman eodan, þonne wæron hi on ræste gelædde, næs na hwæðere on heofona rice, ac heo þære frofre bidon 7 to ðære hihtan hwænne se on middaneard come, se ðe æghwæðer ge him þe ær wæron heofona rices duru ontynde, ge þæt he þonne eac þam, þe nu gyta lifigenda on lichaman wæron, þone weg cuðne 7 openne gedyde to heofona rice.

Ure Drihten, þæt geare on ðære ealdan á his þam halgum gehét 7 him þone gefean 7 þa frofre toweard sáde, þæt he us hider on middaneard secan wolde on menniscum lichaman, he þæt þa æt nextan swiðe arfæstlice 7 swiðe mildheortlice gefylde, ge efne þy furðor þe he sylf on ðas halgan tíd for mancynnes (f.151v) hælu deað geðrowade on ðam Frigedæge þe nu wæs; 7 he eft þæs þy þriddan dæge of deaðe aras on ðam arwurðan dæge þe

nu þysum morgenne bið, 7 he þurh þæt ealle þa of ðam grimman þeowdóme helle wíta to ecum life 7 to ungeendadlicum friðe alysde 7 generede, þa ðe on his lufan rihtlice a wuniað 7 his bebodu medumlice 7 fulfremedlice healdan willað. Forðan þæt is swiðe rihtlic 7 swiðe gedafenlic þæt æghwylc mennisc tunge þæs Ælmihtigan Drihtnes þrym 7 his micelnys mid lofum 7 mid wurðmyndum herge [7] andette.

Ac ut⌈on⌉ nú cerran to ura sylfra gewitnysse, gyf we hwylce synne hæbban ungeandette 7 ungebette, þæt we þonne þa clænlice geandettan 7 medumlice gebetan. Uton beon arfulle 7 mildheorte us betweonum. Lufian us sylfe rihtlice 7 urne Drihten ofer ealle oðre þing, 7 manna gehwylc þurh hine sylfne gód dó. Æghwylc oðerne to góde tyhte 7 lære, forðan þæt is swiðe rihtlic þætte þa men, þe þæt mynteð þæt heo God on ecere sibbe geseon 7 gefeon, þæt þa him sien betweonum sibsume .... arleasra manna, þæt is, þæt heo betweonum figen 7 hatigen forðanðe heo beoð deofles gewyrhtan 7 heo heora líf libbað him sylfum to sceande, 7 efne swa heo heora feondum þurh heora synne georner hyrað, swa he heom æt nextan grimra geweorðeð.

Uton nu tilian mid Godes fultume þæt we mid un(f.152)wæmre heortan 7 mid clænre ingewitnysse to Drihtnes wigbede gangan moton, 7 þær þam halgan husle onfón, þæt us is her on middan-earde geseald eces lifes to wedde, 7 buton þæs weddes onfangen-nysse næfre ænig man Godes rice gestigeð. Forðan æghwylc þæra manna se ðe þam rihtlice onfehð, ælc þæra onfehð eces lifes wed, 7 æghwylc þæra þe him unmedum to gedyrstigað þonne onfehð se strængre Godes fæhðu 7 ecere forwýrde wræce. Forðan we sceolon geðæncan þa hwile þe we moten 7 hit on urum gewealde sy, þæt we þa þing dón þe us to ecere hælu gelimpan mote, aerðan us færinga deaðes þeostro fornime 7 forgripe.

Uton gemunan þætte ure nænigum his góda æfter þeosse worulde to fela ne ðynceð, þonne he þæra on ecnysse brucan sceal, þe he ær on ðeosse medmicclan tíde for Gode gedyde. Ne magon we æt Domesdaege, þonne ure Drihten geldeð æghwylcum anum men æfter his sylfes gewyrhtum, na hwæðer ne gold ne seolfor for us syllan, ne nænige woruldspeda. Ac we þonne þæt deoreste wed ageofan sceolon, manna g[e]hwylc, his sylfes lichaman 7 sawle.

Uton la tilian þæt we þonne sý to life næs na to deaðe gedemde. Uton þancian þam Ælmihtigum Drihtne ure alysynsse, 7 tilian þæt we næfre mid synnum forwýrde þa gife ure alysnysse, we, þe wæron mid þy deorwurðestan Cristes blode (f.152v) alysde, swa Sanctus Paulus se apostol cwæð, þæt he Drihten ne sparode his agene bearne; ac he hine for us eallum to deaðe gesealde for ure ecere hælu. Þæs him sý symle lof 7 wuldor 7 seo mæste þancwurðesta herenys a buton ende, in ealra worulda woruld. AMEN.

Apparatus (i) - Manuscript Variants (for editorial method see pp.132-3)

Text based on E (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340), ff.144-52v. Collated with F (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198), ff.186v-96v; and G (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162), pp.365-82. Excluded variants: (1) Most instances of the following minor variations in spelling: *þ/ð*; double and single consonants, final as in *men(n)*, *eal(l)*, *-nys(s)*, medial as in *byrgen(n)e*; *y* and *e* in *-nyss*, *-ness*; *ig* and *i* medially in such words as *wuldrigenne*, *wuldrienne*; *i* and *y* for EWS *i* or *ie*, long or short; the interchange of *þam*, *þan*, *þon*, especially in *for þam*. (2) A number of typically late spellings, mostly weakened endings.

Superscript: De*]* In G.

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1 magon we*]* we magon FG. secgan*]* sægcan F. 2 þeoses*]* ðyses F; þises G. 4 eac*]* *om.* F. þa ðe*]* þa ða F; þe ðe G. twelf*]* twylf (*with* e *added later above* y) F. 5 weorðienne*]* wurðienne G. hwæðere*]* swa ðeah hwæðere FG. 6 oðre*]* oðro F. ealne*]* eall⌜n⌝e (*later*) G. 7 drihtenlicum*]* drihtenlican F; drihtlicum, *altered later to* drihten- G. 8 weorðedan we*]* wurðedan we F; we wurðedon G. wintre*]* wintra FG. æt geolum*]* *erased* G. drihtenlican*]* enne wurðedan F. 9 hider*]* hide F. 10 menniscne*]* menniscum(.) G. had*]* hade (e *added later*) G. lichaman*]* licham, *altered later to* lichaman G. 11 þæt*]* þe FG. we*]* we *from* weo (o *erased*) F. 12 he*]* *erased* G. mancynne*]* mancyn, *altered later to* mancynne G. 13 þeahðe he*]* (.)eall G. he*]* he he (he[1] erased) E. hit*]* *erased; þæt he on erasure* G. 14 ðeosse*]* ðysse F; þisse G. 15 gecydde*]* gecynde F. ærest*]* ærist G. 16 oðera*]* oðra F. 18 manna*]* manna sawla G. 21 him*]* urum FG. heo*]* hi FG. 22 spræcon*]* sprecon F. 23 sægð*]* segð FG. godspellere*]* *with* e[2] *from* r F. þeosne*]* þas FG. 24 lection*]* redinge F; rædinge G. 25 wære*]* *altered later to* wæs G. que*]* que FG, *altered from* que? G. 26 lucesscit*]* lucescit F; lucessit G. magdalene*]* magdale, *altered later to* magdalene G. altera*]* altara, *altered later to* altæra G. 27 sepulcrum*]* sepulchrum FG. þy*]* on ðam FG. restedæges*]* reste- F; ræsten- G. 28 ðæne*]* ðone FG. ærestan*]* æræstan G. restedæg*]* reste- F; ræstendæge *altered later to* restendæge G. 29 magdalenisca*]* -isce FG. modor*]* moder F. 30 -hrernys*]* styrung *on erasure; repeated in another hand above line* G. 32 awelede*]* awylede FG. 33 sy*]* seo FG. betyned*]* behlided G. þa*]* he (*later*) þa G. 35 egeslic*]* swa egeslic FG. 36 legetu*]* lygettum F; lygettu G. hrægl*]* hræglu (u *added later*) G. hwit*]* hwite FG. egsan*]* egesan FG. 37 weardas*]* weardes F. afærede*]* aferede F. hellheorte*]* ablicgede FG. 38 forht*]* forhte (e *added later*?) G. swa heo*]* swilce hi FG. 40 he*]* *erased* G. 41 ic*]* ic hit F. þæt*]* *om.* F. 42 ahangen*]* ahangan G. 43 andweardnysse*]* an- G. sylf*]* sylfa FG. 44 eft þy*]* *erased*; þam *above line* G. uenite*]* ueni(..)te F.

45 nu] *om.* FG. 45-46 cwæð he] *marked thus* ⌒ *for reversal* G.

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46 ongeseted] ongeset FG. 47 secgað] sæcgað F. 48 heo] hi FG. faran] foran E; faren FG. þeodland] þeoi(?)land F. 49 heo] hi FG. sæde] sæcge F; secge G. 50 heo þa dydon] dydon F; þa dydon G. 51 egsan] egesan F. fyrhtum] fyrhtu F; fyrhtum (m *added later*) 7 mid fyrhtu (7 mid fyrhtu *underscored for deletion*) G. miccle] micclum FG. 52 he] *om.* F. him] heom F. grette heo] 7 grette hi FG. him] heom F. 53 cwæð to] to cwæð FG. him] *om.* FG. 54 he] *om.* FG. 55 secgað] sæcgað F. 56 gebroðrum] broðrum FG; *altered later to* gebroðrum G. heo[1], heo[2]] hi FG. 58 gehyrdon] hyrdon (*with* e *added later above* y) F. stær anlepig] *with later additions to read* stærlice 7 gyt anlepigum E; þær anlepig F. þeoses] þyses FG. 59 secgan] sæcgan F. þone] þonne F. gehyran] *with* e *added later above* y F. 60 þas] þære FG. hwilcum-] tohwilcum- G. -cweðan] -cwæðan G. 61 þis] þis (þ *on erasure*) F. 62 gehyrdon] *with* e *added later above* y F. 63 eac] *om.* F. 64 heo] hi FG. 65 restedæges] ræste-, *altered later to* reste- G. lihteð] lihtehð F. ðone] ðæne FG. restedæg] ræste-, *altered later to* reste- G. 66 cweðan] cwæðan G. þe] þy F. morgenne] merigenne F; mergene G. oðer] *om.* F. 68 morgene] merigen FG. 69 þætte] þæt FG. 70 þeostro] ðeostru F; þystru G. heo] *om.* FG. þa[2]] þæne F; þone G. 71 drihtenlican] drihtlican G. ne wæs] næs FG. 72 tacen] tacn G. todældon] todeldon F. 75 byrgenne] byrgen, *altered later to* byrgenne G. 76 heo] hi FG. him] *om.* FG. 77 þære] þæs FG. æriste] æristes FG. he] *om.* FG. 78 þætte] þæt FG. geweorðan] gewurðan G. heo] hi FG. 79 cwædon] sædon FG. ane] anum FG. heo] hi FG. hit] mid G. 81 morgene] merien F; merigen G. 82 þæt[1]] *om.* F. þeostru] þystru G. 83 morgenne]meriene F; merigene G. efne] on efene F. þæt] ðet F. 84 elles] *marked thus* ⌒ *as a question* F. fram] of FG. 86 hafað] afað F. þy] ðon F; þan G. 87 ymbcerred] -cyrred (*with* e *added later above* y) F. astigað] astigð F; astihð G. 88 he] *om.* FG. gerynelice] gy- F. 89 restedæges] ræste- F; ræsten- G. 90 hwæðere] swa þeah hwæðere FG. merigen] merien F. 91 þe] þæt G. 91-92 swa þæs . . . nihte æfen] *om. but with later additions to read* swa þæs dæges efen bið þonne seo cymð swa þonne bið eac þære nihte æfen G. 92 seo] se (*from* seo; o *erased*?) F. 94 restedæges] ræsten- G. ærestan] *om.* F. restedæg] ræste- G. 95 symle] symble G. 96 wexeð] weoxeð F; weaxeð G. 98 þysse] þyssere G. 99 wyrde] gewyrde FG.

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100 æriste] æristes FG. ðysse] þissere G. 101 furðum] *om.* FG. 102 worulde] weorulde F. fylgde] filigde FG. dæg] dæge F. 103 heo] hi FG. æt] on G. 105 ufanweardre] -wearde G. endebyrdnys] -nysse F; -nyss G. oncerred] oncyrred G. 106 þara] þæra FG. fylgde] filide F; filigde G. þa[2]] þas (s *added later*) G. 107 næmniað] nemnað FG; *altered*

later to nemniað G. morgenne*]* merigen FG. 108 rim*]* gerim FG. dogra*]* daga FG. 110 becnung*]* tacnung FG. oncyrnys*]* oncerrednys F; oncyrrednys G. 111 worulde*]* þisse worulde FG. on[1]*]* *om.* F. 112 he*]* *om.* FG. 113 snyttru*]* snyteru G. 114 on[2]*]* ⌜on⌝ (*later*) G. 116 swa*]* swilce FG. 117 niht*]* ⌜niht⌝ (*later*) G. hluttrestan*]* hluttran G. leohte*]* leohtes (s *added later*) G. 120 middaneard*]* -earde F. 122 anwealde*]* and- F. acerran*]* cyrran *from* acyrran (a[1] *erased*) G. 123 befleon*]* befle(.)on F. 124 se*]* (.)se F. 125 adpropinquauit*]* -abit FG. 126 ungeleafsumnysse*]* ungenihtsumnysse E; *sic* FG. genealæceð*]* genealæcð G. soðes*]* þæs soðan FG. 127 aweorpan*]* awurpan FG. þeostra*]* þeostru F. weorc*]* wurc F. 128 gefrætewian*]* gefrætiwian F; gefrætwian G. 132 seo*]* seo(.) F. mannes[2]*]* mannes life FG. 133 lucessit*]* lucess⌜c⌝it (*later*) G. prima*]* primo G. 134 ðone*]* ðæne F. ærestan*]* æræstan G. restedæg*]* ræste- G. wæs*]* is FG. 135 restedæg*]* ræste- G. mænde*]* *marked thus* ⸮ *as a question* F. wæs*]* hit wæs FG. halga*]* halga(..) F. 136 drihtenlica*]* -lican G. nemniað*]* nemnað, *altered later to* nemniað G. 137 mancynne*]* mancyne (e *added later*) G. reste*]* restedæge F; ræste G. ðære*]* *om.* F. 138 þære*]* *altered later to* þæs G. æriste*]* æristes FG. wæs se*]* 7 se wæs G. 139 wyrde*]* gewyrde F; gewyrdu G. 141 mæste þa gewurdan*]* ða este ðagerden F. on sunnandæge*]* *om.* *but added later above line* G. 142 þære*]* þæra FG. þone*]* þæna F; þæne G. nyle*]* nele F; ⌜nele⌝ (*later*) G. 143 reste*]* reste F; ræste G. 144 þe*]* þe nu F. 145 þætte*]* þæt FG. 146 deorwurðum*]* deorwuðum F. smyrenyssum*]* smere- F. drihtenlican*]*om. G. 147 heo*]* *om.* F; hi G. smyrian*]* smerian F. 148 þy*]* ðam FG. wæs getacnod*]* hi getacnodon FG. þe*]* *om.* FG. 149 gelefað*]* gelyfað (*with* e *added later above* y F) FG. his*]* on his FG. 150 manige*]* mænige FG. dæde*]* dæda FG. 151 secan*]* secean G. ure*]* urum FG. modgeðance*]* mod(.)geðance F; mode ⌜7⌝ (*later*) geðance G.

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154 godspelle*]* *foll. by erasure* (...) G. þætte*]* þæt FG. eorðrernys*]* eorðstyrung FG. 155 gesewen*]* geseawen F; gesawen G. 156 þætte*]* þæt FG. hwene*]* hwænne F. frigendæge*]* frige- FG. he*]* *om.* FG. 158 eorðrernys*]* -hryrnys F; earfornys G. gebifode*]* bifode FG. 159 wyrde*]* gewyrde FG. ealle*]* eall FG; *altered later to* ealle G. 160 tungol*]* tunglu FG. behyddan*]* behyn⌜d⌝don (*later*; n[1] *dotted below for deletion*) G. 161 heora*]* *foll. by gap* (.....) E. 162 middum*]* middun, *altered later to* middum G. beorhtast*]* beor⌜h⌝tost G. 164 eallne*]* ealne FG. a*]* *om.* FG. wæs on ðan*]* on ðam (ðan G) wæs FG. 165 getacnad*]* -nað E; -nod FG. ðeostre*]* þystre F; þyostre G. 166 cyme*]* tocyme FG. 167 geleornod*]* -ode E; *sic* FG. þa*]* þeah F; hi þeah G. 168 eorðhrernysse*]* -hryrnysse FG. 169 eorðlican*]* n *erased to read* eorðlicra G. 170 þætte*]* þæt FG. 171 gecyrde*]* gecyrede F; gecyrrede G. drihten*]* *om.* FG. ecere*]* æcere F. 172 becuman*]* becomon (*with* y *added later above* o[1] G) FG. 173 celo*]* celo *foll. by gap* (....) F. 176 betyned*]* mid betyned G. 178 þære*]* *om.* FG. seo*]* se G. ær*]* *om.* G. 179 þyder com*]*

com þider (þyder G) FG. 180 þære] *with* -re *dotted below for deletion and* s *above line.* æriste] æristes FG. beon sceolde gewita] beon gewita E; gewita beon sceolde F; sceolde beon gewita G. þam] þæt, *altered later to* þam G. 181 secgan] sægcan F. 182 ontynde] un- FG. aweg] onweg F. þy] þe F; tocnawan 7 þe G. eðelicor] eaðelicor G. 184 sægeð] sægð F; segð G. 185 iudeas] ða iudeas FG. 186 eodan] hi eodan (-don G) FG. heora] *om.* FG. 187 brohton] 7 brohton FG. 188 to him] *om.* G. cwædon] *foll. by gap* (..) F. min domne] la leof FG. 189 þy] on ðam FG. 190 lichaman] byr(bir- G)genne FG. wen] wenunga FG. 191 to] þærto FG. forstelen] forstele E; *sic* F; forstælon, *altered later to* forstelon G. 192 se[1]] *om.* F. wyrse] wyrsa FG. heo] hi G. 193 heo] hi G. 194 ealle] eall⌜e⌝ (*later*) G. 195 ymbgripan] -gripen FG. 196 sedebat] -bat *on erasure* G. 198 þy] *om.* FG. 199 wlitige] wlitege F. heo] hi(.) F; hi G. þysse] þyssere G. 200 heo] hi FG. 201 sorhge] sorge FG. hwæðere] swa þeah hwæðere FG. 202 rest] rǽst F; ræst *with* æ *partially erased to read* rest G. witud] witud⌜lice⌝ (*later*) G. hi] he E; hi F; hi(.) G. forlætað] -eð E; *sic* FG. 205 swa[3]] *om.* G. hrægl] hrægel FG. wæron] wæs FG. swa[4]] ⌜swa⌝ (*later*) G. 206 þy] his FG. onseone] onsyne FG. 207 þy] *om.* FG. his] *erased* F.

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208 hwænne] hwene F. 7 swiðe] 7 swiðe 7 swiðe (*second time underscored for deletion*) G. 209 strange] strang⌜lice⌝ (*later*) G. heardwendlice] heard F; heardlice G. 210 wrecað] wricað F; wricð G. 211 he] *om.* FG. 212 on] mid FG. onsyne] an- F. æteowde] atiwode F; ætiwde G. 213 þy] þe F. iudeas] þa iudeas FG. þæt] þe FG. 214 be ðan] *om.* G. ðeosum] ðyssere F; þisse G. lectione] rædinge FG. 215 egsan] egesan FG. ansynes] onsyne FG. 216 7 hellheorte] *om.* FG. swa[2]] swilce FG. heo] hi FG. 218 autem] *om.* FG. 219 hrægl] hrægel G. wæron] wæs FG. þætte engles syn] þæs engles onsyn FG. 220 hræglum] hrægle FG. gegerede] gegyred FG. sy] wære FG. 221 he] *om.* FG. 222 tacnade] getacnode F; tacnode, *altered later to* getacnode G. 223 heo] hi FG. þis] ⌜þis⌝ (*later*) G. 225 albe] albe FG. requiescerent] -eret F; -unt G. 226 gesealde] sealde FG; *altered later to* gesealde G. syndrie] syndrige FG. hwite] ⌜hwite⌝ (*later*) G. gegerelan] gegyrlan FG. 227 gecweden] cweden FG; *altered later to* gecweden G. heo] hi FG. restan] ræstan G. gefeonde] geðyldige FG. bidan] beon F; gebiden G. 229 syndrie] syndrige FG. 230 sawle] sawla FG; *altered later to* sawlan G. ane] anne FG. onfoð] underfoð ⌜hi⌝ (*later*) G. 231 geweorðað] gewyrð G. nu hwonne] *om.* FG. æt] on FG. he] *om.* FG. 232 aweceð] awecð FG. 233 onsendeð] onsændeð F; onsendað G. þonne] þonne⌜ne⌝ (*later*) G. heo onfoð] hi onfoð F; onfoð hi G. 234 heofona] heora E; *sic* FG. heo] hi FG. 236 þeowiað] ðeowodon FG. libbað] leofodon FG. 237 he] *om.* FG. gegyrelan] gegyrlan F. æteowde] æteowode G. 238 þy] þe FG. 239 afrefred] -frod FG. heo] *om.* F; hi G. þyder] y *on erasure* G. geleafan] geleafa, *altered later to* geleafan G.

240 him] heom F. 241 heo[1&2] hi FG. næron] neron F. forhte] forhtige F. heo[3] hi FG. 242 gefean] geleafan FG. sædon] sæde G. 243 þæt[2] þær FG. heo] hi FG. drihten] *om.* FG. 244 sceolden] sceolon F; sceoldon G. 245 et[1] *om.* G. 246 heo] hi FG. 246-7 eodan ofestlice] *om.* FG. 248 æriſt] æriste FG. 249 he] *om.* F; *canc.* G. grette] 7 grette FG. heo] hi FG. 250 fægrum] mid fægerum (fægrum G) FG. hauete] auete FG. 251 tacnode he ure drihten] ure drihten getacnode F; ure getacnode se (*underscored for deletion*) drihten, *marked thus* ⌒ *for reversal to read* ure drihten getacnode G. 252 gangan] gangan (*underscored for deletion*) gangan G. þætte] þæt FG. geofe] gife F; gyfe G. 253 gelædeð] -að G. 254 heo] hi FG. fægrum] fægerum F. cwæde] cwæðe G. swa[2] s *written on* h E. 256 awerigednys] awergednys F; awyrgednys G. ærestan] æræstan G. 257 adwæsced] adwesced F. 259 accesserunt] ascenderunt G. 260 him] *om.* FG. 261 wæs on ðan] on ðam wæs FG.

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262 heo] hi FG. him] hine FG. 263 hwene] hwæne F. sægð] segð FG. 264 betynedre] betyne⌜n⌝dre (*later*) G. wæs on ðan] on ðam wæs FG. se] *om.* FG. 265 þa[2] þe (*with* a *added later above* e) G. 266 wæs] ⌜7⌝ (*later*) wæs G. his] ⌜his⌝ (*later*) G. þære] on þære FG. 267 he[2]] (.)he F. hwæðere] swa ðeah hwæðere FG. wundorlicra] -licre FG. 270 wifum] wi(.)fum E. cwæð he] *om.* FG. 271 secgað] sæcgað F. gebroðrum] broðrum FG. heo] hi FG. 272 þæt[2] þær FG. heo] hi FG. geseon sceolan] sceolon geseon FG. 273 we nu magon] we magon nu F. 274 mancynn] *foll. by gap* (.) E. 275 þeowas] ðeowan FG. sien] ne (*underscored for deletion*) syn⌜d⌝ (*later*) G. 276 nemde] næmde F. is] ic E; *sic* FG. 278 broðrum] brorðrum F. genemde] næmde F; nemde, *altered later to* genemnode G. 279 þa] þonne F; þone G. wurðmyndo] -mynd F; -mynt G. 280 betwynan] betweonan F. 281 heo] hi FG. habbað] *with* ð *dotted below for deletion and* n *above line* G. lufan] lufen F; lufe G. 283 to widan feore] a on ecnysse G. beforan] ætforan FG. 284 gefean] wunian FG. 285 mandæde] -dæda G. fremmeð] -að FG. heo] hi FG. 286 begangað] -eð G. 287 forneomað] fornyomað F; fornymað G. 288 genemde 7] *om.* FG. 290 manncynnes] *om.* FG. efan] euan FG. 291 heo] hi FG. inwite] on wite FG; *underscored and with erasure* (.....) *above line* G. 292 heo] hi FG. 293 godes] godes (*later*) G. oferferdon] -fyrdon (*with* e *later above* y) F; oferdon, *altered later to* oferferdon G. 295 7 asende] onsænde F; ⌜7⌝ (*later*) onsende G. 297 ne wæs] næs G. 298 lichama] licham⌜a⌝ (*later*) G. 299 sarlicra] -licre FG. ne wæs] *om.* F; næs G. æfre] næfre F. 300 he] *om.* F. ærðan] ærðanðe G. þeos] ⌜þeos⌝ (*later*) G. halige] halig *from* haliga (a[2] *erased*) F. 301 æristtid] æriste tid FG. 302 heo] hi F; ⌜hi⌝ (*later*) G. 303 ræste] reste F. hwæðere] swa ðeah hwæðere F; swa ðeah G. 304 heofona] heofonan E; *sic* FG. heo] hi G. 305 hwænne] hwæne F. middaneard] middan F; middaneard *from* middanearde (e[2] *erased*) G. him] *with* eo *added later above* i G. 306 heofona] on heofona F. ontynde] *with* v *added later above* o G. 307 gedyde] gedede F. 309 geare] geara FG.

halgum] halgam F; halgan G. 310 toweard] towearde F.
311 middaneard secan] *with later additions to read* middanearde gesecan G. secan] sæcan F. þæt] *om.* F 313 furðor] forðon F; furðon G. þe] þa G. sylf] sylfa F; sylf *from* sylfe (e *erased*) G. 314 geðrowade] þrowian F. 315 dæge[1]] dæges (s *partially erased*) G.

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316 ðam] ðam(.....) G. 317 wita] wit⌜es⌝a (*later*) G.
318 generede] anyrede (*with* y *canc. and* e *added later above*) F. rihtlice a wuniað] wuniað rihtlice F. 319 healdan] heald⌜an⌝ (*later*) G. 321 micelnys] -nys⌜se⌝ (*later*) G. 322 wurðmyndum] -mendum F. 322 herge 7 andette] her geandette E; herge (herige G) 7 andette FG. 323 ac] 7 FG. cerran] cyrran G. gewitnysse] -nyssa F. 324 hwylce] hwi⌜l⌝ce (*later*) F. hæbban] -en F. 324-5 þa clænlice] clænlice þa F.
325 medumlice] -lic G. gebetan] ⌜gebetan⌝ (*later*) G.
326 betweonum] betweonan F. urne] ur⌜n⌝e (*later*) G.
328 æghwylc] ge æghwilc F; ge æghwi⌜l⌝c (*later*) G. tyhte] tylte F. is] *om.* F. 329 þætte] þæt *from* þætte (te *erased*) G. þæt[1]] þe F. heo] hi FG. 330 7 gefeon] 7 F; *om.* G him] heom G. betweonum] betweonan F; betwynan G. sibsume] ge- FG. 331 heo] hi FG. 332 forðanðe] forðan G. heo[1], heo[2]] hi FG. 333 heo] hi FG. 334 synne] synnum G. hyrað] hyrnað E; *sic* FG. heom] hi F; him G. geweorðeð] -að FG.
335 unwæmre] unwemre G. 337 halgan] hal⌜i⌝gan (*later*) G.
husle] husle⌜s⌝ (*later*) G. 338 eces] þæs ecan FG.
339 gestigeð] gestige F. 340 se ðe] *with* ðeða *erased above line* G. 342 strængre] strengre G. fæhðu] ferhðu F.
343 geðancan] geþencan G. 344 hælu] hæle FG. mote] moten F; moton G. ærðan] ærðanðe FG. 345 færinga] færinge F.
þeostro] þeostru FG. 346 þætte] þæt *from* þætte (te *erased*) G.
nænigum] mænigum, *with* m[1] *partially erased to read* n G. his] is F. þeosse] þysse F; þisse G. 347 fela] fyla F. 348 ne] nu (*with dot below* u *for deletion and* e *later above line*) G.
349 drihten] driht F. geldeð] gyldeð G. anum] *om.* G.
351 for] *om.* F. þonne] þonne⌜ne⌝ (*later*) G. 352 ageofan] agyfan G. gehwylc] ghwylc E. 354 sy] syn FG. 355 aelmihtigum] -igan F. alysnysse] alys⌜ed⌝nysse (*later*) G.
356 alysnysse] *with* e *added later above* y[1] F; alys⌜yd⌝nysse (*later*) G. 357 alysde] *with* e *added later above* y F. 358 he] *om.* F. 359 agene bearne] agen bearn *from* agene bearne (*final* e *erased on both words*) G. he] *om.* G. 360 hælu] hæle FG. symle] symble G. mæste] *om.* FG. 361 þancwurðesta] -este FG. in] on G.

Apparatus (ii) - Glosses in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198

Expansions of abbreviations in the glosses are italicised.

Glosses in F: 1 hwilcumhwega: ali*quibus*. 3 þyses morgenes: mane cras. syn: sint. 4 þa ðe: *que*. 5 mid hea lofe: summa laude. 8 wurðedan we: nos vene*rabamur*. æt geolum: natale *domini*. 9 hide: hide (*marg.*). 10 had: p*ersona*. 14 gehete: p*romisit*. 15 gecynde: i*cudde, nature*. 17 þa ðe: q*ui*. 27 restedæges: sabati. 30 eorðhrernes: t*erremotus* (*rep. marg.*). ærist: resurrexio. 32 aweg awylede: reuoluit. 33 þa: t*unc*. 35 egeslic: t*erribilis*. 36 lygettum: fulg*ur*. egesan: timore. 37 weardes: custodes. ablicgede: stupef*acti*. 38 forht: pauidi. 41 ic hit wat: scio. ge: uos.

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51 egesan: timore. fyrhtu: pauore. 52 gefean: Gaudio. 53 wesað hale: auete (*rep. marg.*). 54 gebædon: adorau*erunt*. 55 ge: uos. ac: s*ed*. 58 anlepig: singulari*ter*. 60 hwilcumhwega: ali*quibus*. 63 þa ðe: q*ue*. 64-5 þy æfenne þæs restedæges: vesp*ere* aute*m* sabati. 65 lihtehð: lucessit. ærestan: p*rima*. 66 to merigenne: cras. 67 orto iam sole: orto i*am* sole (*rep. marg.*). 68 ualde diluculo: (*marg.*). þonne: diuersa opinio .iiij. euangelistar*um* (*marg.*). 69 cum adhuc tenebre essent: c*um* adhuc tenebre essent (*marg.*). 71 ærist: resurrectione*m*. gewordene: fact*am*. 72 todeldon: diuiser*unt*. 73 ungelice: dissimili*ter*. æghwilc: vn[us] q*uisque*. þæs: h*oc*. 74 þa ðe: q*ue*. 77 hihte: fiducia *con*fidentia*m*. þæs: illi*us*. 78 geweorðan: euenire. 78-9 hi þreo ealle: om*nes tres*. 79 anum andgyte: uno i*ntellectu*. 80 tocwædon: delirare*nt*. 81 þonne: q*uando*. 82 þonne^{2}: t*unc*. swilce: q*uasi*. 83 ge: eti*am*. 84 hwanon: vnde. buton: n*isi*. 86 afað . . . ymbswifen: capit (*marg.* afað). 87 þanon: i*nde*. 88 ðeagollice: clam. gyrynelice: miste*rialiter*. 89 þy: illo. þæs: illi*us*. 90 sædon: dixer*unt*. 91 swa: sicut. 92 swa: sic*ut*. þonne^{2}: t*unc*. 94 lihteð: lucescit. 96 næs na^{1}: et non. leohtað: lucescit. næs na^{2}: et non. 97 ðeagollice: clam. weorðunge: ueneratione. 98 efne swa: acsi. 99 onlihted: lucescit. 99-100 gefealican . . . æristes: gaudiali euentu d*ominici* resurrecti*onis*.

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100 þe: que. ende: fine. 101 ongan: i*ncepit*. 102 ær: þ*rius*. 103 æfter: s*ecundum*. 105 ufanweardre: desuper. oncerred: mutata (*marg.* oncerred). 108 þone daeg: illu*m* diem. hatað: voca[mus]. 109 æfter: s*ecundum*. 110 oncerrednys: mutati*o*. 111 efne swa: acsi. 112 lihte: lucesc*eret*. þa^{1}: q*uando*. 113 snyttru: p*rudentio* (*sic*). 114 foreþanculnysse: p*rouidentia*. þa: t*unc*. 115 gecyrdon: c*onuerterunt*. 116 gewitan: recesser*unt*. þa^{1}: t*unc*. efne: ecce. anlicnysse: imagine. swilce: q*uasi*. 117 æfter: post. hluttrestan: puro.

118 þeostru þære ungeleafsumnysse: tenebre *incredulitatis*.
120 hade: *persona*. 121 þa: *tunc*. 122 accerran: *recedere*.
126 ungeleafsumnysse: *incredulitatis*. 127 awurpan: *abicere*.
man: *malum*. 128 gegearwian: *preparare*. gefrætiwian: *ornare*.
130 arwurðlice: honorifice. 134 ærestan: *prima*. 138 ærest:
primus. 139 frymðe: origine. gewyrde: *euentus* (*rep. marg.*).
þa ðe: *que*. 140 gewurden: *euenerunt*. 142 þæna: illum.
143 are: honore. weorðunge: *Veneratione*. 144 gesetnysse:
constitutionem. 147 ðone: *illum*. ðam: *illo*. 148 brosnian:
putrescere. mid ðam: *cum hoc*. 150 lustas: desideria.
151 modgeðance: *intentione*. hycgan: *sperare* (*marg. confidere, sperare, nitere*)

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156 hwænne ær beforan: paulo ante. frigedæge: feria .vj.
157 ða: *tunc*. 158 -hryrnys: ruina. bifode: *tremuit*.
aforhtode: pauit. 159 gewyrde: euentu. 160 tunglu: planete.
man: *malum*. morðor: homicidium. 161 her: hic. wið: *contra*.
162 efne: ecce. þa: *tunc*. 163 efne: ecce. 166 þa ðe: *qui*.
167 swilc[1]: tale. man: *malum*. swilc[2]: tale. morðor: homicidium.
168 swilce: similiter. eorðhryrnysse: ruine. 169 manna:
hominum. 171 hreowe: penitencia. gecyrede: *conuersi*. æcere:
eterna. 178 fultumian: adiuuare. 180 gewita: testis. þam:
illis. 182 untynde: aperire. 187 on oll: (*rep. marg.*).
edwit: obprobrium. 188-9 we magon gemunan: recordati *sumus*.
189 æswica: seductor. 190 hat: iube. 192 neara: nouissimus
(*marg.* neare). teoldon: iudicauerunt. 194 bemiðen: occultus.
behyded: abschonsus. þone þe: *quem*. 195 ymbgripen:
conprehendere. 197 næs na: *non quia*. 198 setle: sessione.
199 wlitige: decori. 200 ær: *prius*. her: hic. 202 witod:
certe seruata. agen: *proprium*. 204 ansyn: uultus.
205 egeslic: *terribili*. ligettu: fulgur. 206: egeslican:
terribili. onsyne: aspectu. 207 ða: *illam*.

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208 nu hwene: paulo ante. 210 wricað: vindicat.
211 arfæstlice: pie. 212 wearda: custodum. 213 forhtra:
terribilius. þa ðe: *quos*. 215 egesan: *terribilitatem*.
weardas: custodes. 216 forhte: timidi. 220 gegyred: indutus.
222 wlitige: pulcre. 225 him: illis. 226 syndrige hwite
gegyrlan: singule albe stole. 228 rim: numerus. efenþeowa:
conseruorum. 229 syndrige: singule. gegyrlan: stole.
230 þonne[1]: *tunc*. anne: singulam. 231 geweorðað: erit.
232 awecð: excitat. forð lædeð: producit. 233 onsændeð:
inmittit. 236 gode: deo. 237 gegyrlan: stole. 238 unforhtra:
intrepida. 241 hi[1]: eas. forhtige: timidi. 242 þegnum:
discipulis. gewordene: factam. 247 egsan: pauore. fyrhtu:
timore. 248 gewordene: factam. 252 ðæra: illorum. 254 hi:
illas. 256 awergednys: maledictio. 258 adilgad: deleta.
261 gebædon: adorauerunt. 261-2 soðne lichaman: uerum corpus.

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262 ða: quando. 263 þonne hwæne: quem paulo. 264 gecyðed: notum. 275 þæs: hoc. ðeowan: serui. 276 bearnum: filios. 277 ar: honor. 279 þonne: illum. 281 arfæste: pii. 283 feore: worlde. 284 ansyne: aspectum. 285 oferhydige: superbi. inwitfulle: dolosi. 286 unarfulle: impii. ðeofet: furtum. geligeru: luxuriam. 287 fornyomað: consumunt. 290 þa: illos. 291 facne: fraude. 292 byrignysse: Gustu. beweredra: Vetiti (*rep. marg.*). 293 awegan: conmovebant. oferfyrdon: transgressi sunt. 294 gesiðscipe: consortio. 295 niðerlican: vilum. wræce: vltione. 296 ge efne: etiam ecce. 301 gedefan: tranquilli. 302 þa ðe: qui. gode: boni. 304 þære[1]: ibi. ðære[2]: illam. 307 weg cuðne: uiam notam. gedede: fecit (*rep. marg.*). 309 geara: olim. 310 gehet: promisit.

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317 friðe: truuuas. 318 anyrede: eripuit. 319 medumlice: dingne. 320 gedafenlic: congruum. 324 þa: eam. 325 medumlice: condingne. 328 tylte: tulle. 329 god: deum. 330 sin: sint (*marg.* sin *id est* beþ). 331 figen: (*rep. marg.*). 332 gewyrhtan: operarii. 334 geoner: studiosius. hyrað: obediunt. 336 ingewitnysse: intentione. wigbede: altare. 338 þæs: illius. 339 gestige: ascendet. 341 wed: pingnus. unmedum: indignus. gedyrstigað: presumit. þonne: tunc. onfehð: recipit. 342 strængre: fortior. ferhðu: animam (*marg.* ferhðu *id est* iram). forwyrde: demeritum. 343 gewealde: det. 345 fornime: asumat. 346 goda: deo. 347 on ecnysse: to secule. 348 medmicclan: modico. 349 þonne: quando. geldeð: reddit. 350 æfter: secundum. gewyrhtum: meritis. 351 -speda: sustantia. 354 tilian: studere. syn: simus. 356 tilian: studere. forwyrde: demereamur (*marg.* demereamur). gife: gratiam. 358 sparode: pepercit. 361 ðancwurðesta: gratissima. herenys: laus.

Apparatus (iii) - Some Later Additions in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162.

Superscript: eow reccan gif ge hit gehyran willað *added below title.*

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3 þyses . .˙. bið*]* *with* to dæg is *above line.* syn*]* *with* beon *above line.* 7 rihtlicost*]* *with* 7 healicost *above line.* 8 *before* wintre*]* middan *above line.* 9 gebyrddæg*]* *with* tide *above line to read* gebyrdtidedæg. 12 *before* drihten*]* mildheorte *above line.* 13 *after* halgan*]* witegan 7 *above line.*

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58 lectiones*]* *with* þas rædinge synderlice *above line.* 66 þe to morgenne bið*]* *with additions above line to read* þe nu to dæg is. 79 ane*]* *with* on *above line.* 98 þysse*]* *with* þære *above line.* þysse halgan nihte*]* *with* þe to niht wæs *above line.*

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141 on sunnandæge*]* *supplied by corrector above line and with additions in another hand to read* þæt is on sunnandæge. 144 ðam*]* *with* þisum *above line.* þe to merigene bið*]* *with additions above line to read* þe nu to dæg is.

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155 habbað*]* *with* 7 gesæd *above line.* 158 eorðrernys*]* *with* tacn *above line.* 159 þeos*]* *with* seo *above line.* 161 *after* noldon*]* ne ne mihton *above line.* 165 iudea*]* *with additions above line to read* wære iudeiscrila. 168 -hrernysse*]* *with* styrunge *above line.* þa*]* *with* þa *above line.* 171 *after* hine*]* sylfne *above line.* 179 *after* þær*]* to *above line.* 185 iudeas*]* *with additions above line to read* iudeiscan. 202 *after* witud*]* for gyfan *above line.*

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213 iudeas*]* *with additions above line to read* iudeiscan. 218 *after* cwæð*]* se godspellere *above line.* 220 *after* oðde*]* to þon þæt *above line.* 226 gegerelan*]* *with* reaf *above line.* 229 *after* gegyrlan*]* 7 hwite *above line.* 233 *after* onsendeð*]* on þone lichaman *above line.* 242 þa*]* *with* þane *above line.* 253 *after* he*]* þa *above line.* 256 agyltnysse*]* *with* gægeonisse *above line.*

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281 *after* men*]* swa þæt *above line.* 281-2 on rihtne had*]* *with* rihtlice on heom *above line.* 283 gewordene*]* *with* tealde *above*

line. 289 *after* uton*]* eac *above line.* feond*] with* beswac *above line.* 290 manncynnes*] with* eac *above line.* ealdras*] with* yldran *above line.* *after* efan*]* 7 hi *above line.* 292 beweredra*] with* bebodenra *above line.* 293 *before* ælmihtiges*]* þæs *above line.* awegan*] with* forgægdon *above line.* 299 *after* ænig*]* næfre nan *above line.* 300 *after* moste*]* faran *above line.* 301 *after* æristtid*]* þe nu toweard is *above line.* 304 bidon*] with additions above line to read* geon bidodon. 313 halgan*] with* þurh his miclan mildts *above line.*

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316 þysum morgenne bið*] with* to dæg is *above line.* þa*] with* mancyn *above line.* 329 þæt mynteð*] with* þæs wilniað *above line.* 331 heo*] with* heom *above line.* 337 *after* moton*]* on þam haligan easterlican freolse *above line.* *after* þam*]* þæs *above line.* 341 unmedum*] with* unwyrðlice buton clænum mode *above line.* to gedyrstigað*] with* to gedyrstlæcð *above line.* 344 ærðan*] with* 7 ne sculon ut of Godes huse gan ærþon se diacon þæne mæssan ende bodað *added in left margin.* 349 æt*] with* on *above line.* 350 na*] with* þer *above line to read* naþer. 351 nænige*] with* nane *above line.* 352 gehwylc*] with* þæt is *above line.* 356 forwyrde*] with* 1 (*canc.*) awyrdan *above line.* 357 þy*] with* on *above line to read* þon.

AELFRIC'S LATIN VOCABULARLY

By R.L. THOMSON

When Ælfric appended to his Latin grammar in Old English a classified Latin-Old English vocabulary he produced the first attempt at a bilingual dictionary of Old English and one which has been thoroughly exploited by later English lexicography. The choice of Latin terms which he chose to include, and so commend to his students as useful and necessary, it not undeserving of some attention also. While the great majority of these words is naturally of classical origin there is a considerable element that is characteristically medieval, and it is this portion that is worth exploring in some detail as it does not seem to have been so fully incorporated in the dictionaries.

First there is a large group belonging to general Christian or ecclesiastical Latin, Biblical and patristic, a good many of which have their origins in Greek. Such are: *abbas* 299.8,[1] *alba* 314.11, *anachorita* 299.13, *angelus* 297.6, *apostolus* 299.6, *archangelus* 297.6, *archidiaconus* 299.11, *bruchus* 'locust'[2] 307.13, *cartallum* 'basket' 320.11, *castellum* in the Biblical sense of 'village' 318.9, *cathedra* 313.16, *cattus* 309.10 (a popular word according to Isidore[3] 12.2.38 *hunc vulgus cattum a captura vocant*), *cauma* 'heat' 306.15, *cimentarius* 'mason' 319.8 (for *caem-*), *clericus* 299.10, *clibanus* 'oven' 316.14, *cynomia* 'dog-flea' 308.1 (for *cynomyia*), *diaconus* 299.10, *elemosina* 320.8 (for *eleemosyna*), *energuminus* 'demoniac' 305.3 (for *-menus*), *eremita* 299.13, *femoralia* 'breeches, drawers' 315.1, *focus* 'fire' 316.3 (as an alternative to classical *ignis*; cited in W-L[4] from c.1000, but already in Bede, and Biblical), *framea* 317.18 (synonymous with *gladius, machaera, spata*, as in Isidore's definition *gladius ex utraque parte acutus, quam vulgo spatam vocant* 18.6.3, not 'spear' as in classical Latin); *fundibalum* 'sling' 318.6, *fascinula* 'fork' 316.6 (for *fusc-*), *gazofilacium* 'treasury' 321.7 (for *-phyl-*), *hipochrita* 319.11 (for *hypocrita*), *laicus* 299.15, *levita* (an Old Testament alternative to *diaconus*) 299.10, *monachus, monacha* 299.11-12, *nauclerus* 'skipper' 302.13, *nonna* 299.13, *paraclytus* 304.19 (for *-cletus*), *patriarcha* 299.6, *perizomata* 315.1 (the 'aprons' of Genesis 3.7, which Isidore defines as *subcinctorium quo tantum genitalia conteguntur* 19.22.5, like *campestria* below properly a term from the world of athletics), *presbiter* 299.9 (for *-byt-*), *phitonissa* 'prophetess' 303.10 (for *pytho-*), *primas* 300.16, *scinifes* 'gnat' 308.2 (Isidore spells *sciniphes* in Lindsay's text 12.8.14 - *muscae minutissimae sunt, aculeis permolestae* - but *-f-* in some of the manuscripts; W-L lists under *cinyphes*), *sicera* 315.15 (in the Biblical sense 'strong drink', also adopted by Nennius; W-L 'cider' c.1200), *sindo* 'fine linen' 314.18, *stola* 314.12, *superhumerale* 'ephod' 314.12, and *unicornis*

308.13.

According to W-L others make their first appearance in Britain between the sixth and tenth centuries. In the sixth: *ambro* 321.9 ('spendthrift, glutton', and this may well be correct as Ælfric places it between *edax* and *gulosus*, but it is not clear that this is the sense in which Nennius applies it to the Saxons), *artavus* 315.16 ('knife, dagger', another Nennian word), *athleta* 300.18 (a synonym for *miles* in a religious context), *campana* 'large bell' 314.10, *clocca* 'bell' 314.9 (used by Adomnan), *fico* 'shoe' 314.14 (also Nennius); possibly also *peplum* 315.5, but the pairing with *tela* shows that the meaning is 'fabric, woven material' rather than Isidore's 'dress', *matronale pallium ex purpura signatum* 19.25.1 (cf. too Virgil, Aen. 1.480, though that example is not very illuminating).

In the seventh century: *claustrum* 'cloister' W-L 316.2, but also a more general word as Isidore *fores et valvae claustra sunt. claustra ab eo quod claudantur dicta* 15.7.4-5, and also Biblical in this sense, Micah 7.5; *discifer* 'steward' 315.10, *monoptalmus* 'one-eyed' 304.17 (for *-phth-*, a Greek synonym of *luscus*), *muriceps* 'mouser' 309.10 (a poetical synonym for *feles* which does not occur here), *refectorium* 315.8, *suptularis* 'shoe' 314.15 (for *subtalaris* W-L, marked as glossary word only, and explained by Isidore as *subtolares, quod sub talo sint, quasi subtalares* 19.34.7), *taxo* 'badger' 309.6 (paired with classical *melus*, more correctly *meles*).

In the eighth: *casula* 'chasuble' 314.11 (explained by Isidore as *vestis cucullata, dicta per diminutionem e casa quod totum hominem tegat quasi minor casa*), *colobium* 'tabard' 315.3 (explained by Isidore, *longum est et sine manicis* 19.22.24), *comedia* 316.6 (presumably the 'songs sung at banquets' quoted from Alcuin, for which the explanation appears in Isidore's second (Latin) etymology: *Comoedi appellati sive a loco, quia circum pagos agebant, quos Graeci* κώμας *vocant, sive a comisatione. Solebant enim post cibum homines ad eos audiendos venire* 8.7.6), *complex* 'accomplice' 321.3 (the moral colouring is explained by Isidore: *Conplex, quia uno peccato vel crimine alteri est adplicatus ad malum; ad bonum vero numquam dicimus conplicem* 10.50), *flasco* 'bottle' 320.9 (also *flasca*, as Isidore 20.6.2), *lichinus* 'wick' 314.7 (but *lychnus* 'lamp' is classical; Isidore *licinius quasi lucinius; est enim cicindela lucernae* 20.10.2), *manuterium* 'handtowel' 315.16 (for *-tergium*; Isidore *facietergium et manitergium a tergendo faciem vel manus vocatum* 19.26.7), *planeta* 'chasuble' 314.13 (the homonymy with 'planet' is explained by Isidore, *sic et Graece planetas, dicta quia oris errantibus evagantur. Vnde et stellae planetae, id est vagae, eo quod vago sui errore motuque discurrunt* 19.24.17), *tapeta* 'tapestry, carpet' 315.9 (Greek and classical Latin *tapes*, but with some variety of declension; Isidore *tapeta dicta quod pedibus primum strarentur, quasi tapedia* 19.26.5), *ysicius* 'salmon' 308.4 (paired with *salmo*; apparently a derivative of classical *esox*, borrowed from Gaulish, cf. Isidore *isocem piscem quendam dictum, ex quo primum isicia facta sunt; et quamvis ex alio genere piscium fiant, initium tamen piscis vocabulum dedit* 20.2.30).

In the ninth century: *assura* 316.7 (if for *arsura* and with the

sense 'fire'; placed between *veru* and *sartago* it leads us to expect either a cooking implement or perhaps a term for 'roast meat', cf. the W-L under *assatio* and classical *assum*; as the vocabulary also includes *arsura/ustulatio* 302.16 without assimilation of *-rs-* the 'roast' sense is the more probable), *monialis* 'nun' 299.12 (paired with *monacha*), *pellicia* 'leather garment' 315.3, *scabro* 'beetle' 307.13 (W-L s.v. *scarabo*, cf. Isidore, *scabrones vocati a cabo, id est a caballo, quod ex eis creentur. Sicut autem scabrones nascuntur de equorum carnibus putridis, ita ex his iterum saepe nascuntur scarabaei* 12.8.4).

In the tenth: *agalma* 'image' 304.11 (from Greek, paired with *imago*), *antela* 'front peak of the saddle' 317.15 (cf. Isidore's explanation *quasi antesella, sicut et postela, quasi postsella* 20.16.4), *celea* 'ale' 315.13 (Isidore *caelia a calefaciendo appellata; est enim potio ex suco tritici per artem confecta* 20.3.18, W-L *celia*, paired with *cervisia*), *clito* 'prince' 300.15, *cosmus* 'world' 297.8 (paired with *mundus*), *fulcra* 'bedding' 315.1 (defined by Isidore as *ornamenta lectorum, dicta quod in his fulcimur, id est sustinemur, vel quod toros fulciant sive caput* 19.26.3), *interulum* 'shirt' 315.3 (W-L *interula*, paired with *colobium*, eighth century, above), *staurus* 'cross' 313.15 (paired with *crux*).

The pairing of *bellum* and *pugna* 317.19 may suggest influence from Celtic Latin in which *bellum* is regularly used for 'battle'; and *provincia/paga* 313.1, with the feminine form of the latter (as used by Asser) instead of classical *pagus*, may point in the same direction, in view of the feminine gender of Welsh *pau*, which is derived from it.

Some rather recondite terms also occur: *hasta/quiris* 318.3, where *quiris* occurs only once, in Ovid (cf. Isidore, *hasta . . . quae Sabinorum lingua curis dicitur* 9.2.84), *perizomata/campestria* 315.1-2, the latter preserved by Horace (cf. Isidore, *haec* [sc. *perizomata*] *et campestria nuncupantur, pro eo quod eisdem iuvenes, qui nudi exercentur in campo, pudenda operiunt* 19.22.5), *allox* 'big toe' 299.5 (for *allex*), found once, in Plautus, *trapezeta* 'money-changer' 302.1, another Plautine word (paired with *nummularius* which is the Biblical term) more correctly *trapezita*, *proreta* 'look-out' 302.13, also Plautine, *falsidicus* 'lying' 305.16 (Plautus yet again, who is also the source of the synonym *falsiloquus*, which is Biblical), *acus* 'chaff' 316.15, *cinctorium* 'belt' 314.14 (paired with *cingulum* and *zona*), *falarica* 317.20 (paired with *lancea*, described by Isidore as *telum ingens torno factum, habens ferrum cubitale et rotunditatem de plumbo in modum sphaerae. In ipsa summitate dicitur etiam et ignem habere adfixum* 18.7.8), *basterna* 320.5 (paired with *currus* and *essedum* and defined by Isidore as *vehiculum, quasi viae sternax, mollibus stramentis conposita, a duobus animalibus deportata* 20.12.5), *bogia* 321.2 (for pl. *boiae*, described by Isidore, *est torques damnatorum, quasi iugum in bove ex genere vinculorum est* 5.27.12, another Plautine word), *malagma* 'poultice' 302.18, *magalis* 'gelded boar' 309.16 (for *maialis*), *limax* 'snail' 310.4 (cf. Isidore 12.5.7), *eruca* 'caterpillar' 310.5 (cf. Isidore 12.5.9), *titio* 'firebrand' 316.4 (cf. Isidore 17.6.27), *sartago* 'frying-pan', *frixorium* 'ditto' 316.8, *caccabus* 'cooking-pot'

316.5 (cf. Isidore 20.8.3, 5), and *nebris* 'fawnskin' 321.4.

Not all the remainder of Ælfric's post-classical vocabulary, however, appears in the W-L with the date 'c.1000' which would imply that this collection of words was the source. The W-L has a particular siglum to mark entries attested only in glossaries, and some caution in taking such evidence at its face value may fairly be justified in general, but Ælfric's vocabulary, while formally in this category, ought surely to be regarded with less suspicion. Its purpose was presumably to provide his students with a basic vocabulary adapted to their everyday monastic existence, and it is therefore hardly likely to contain anything, leaving aside a few harmless pedantries, often given only as alternatives to more usual words, that was not in use at the time, even if, because of changes in usage, or the delay in recording the names of objects beneath the notice of literature, there may be a gap of a couple of centuries before the next attestation.

The following items are recorded for a later date and sometimes in a modified form or spelling in the W-L: *abra* 'maidservant' 301.4 (paired with *ancilla* and *serva*, W-L c.1440); *andena* 'andiron' 316.4 (W-L 3. *andena* 1390, *andera* c.1290); *archangelica* 'white deadnettle' 311.4 (W-L 14c.); *arsura* 302.16 (W-L 1192, paired with *ustulatio*; from its appearance in a group of medical terms it seems likely that the sense is 'cauterisation'; in a more general sense, 'fire, blaze', c.870); *artemisia* 'mugwort' 311.10 (W-L *artemesia* a 1250); *betonica* 'betony' 310.14 (W-L *vettonica* 14c., this spelling a 1200); *bratium* 'malt' 316.15 (W-L *brasium* 1086, but the Celtic forms show that the correct spelling is *bracium*); *cappa* 315.2 (if 'cap' is the meaning then W-L 1390, though 'cape, cope' for which W-L prefers *capa* is as old as 690); *capum* 'hawk' 307.11 (W-L *capus* c.1180); *cippus* 'stocks' 321.1 (paired with *compes*, W-L c.1100); *circulus* 'hoop' of a barrel or wheel 304.3 (paired with *circus*, from its position perhaps an item of the equipment of a plough-team, W-L 1196); *clausura* 'lock' 314.3 (W-L 1378 in this sense, which is confirmed by the following *clavis*, *sera*, though 'enclosed space' dates from 1203, and 'monastic precincts' from 1182); *cleta* 'hurdle' 315.8 (W-L *clata* 1209, *cleta* c.1115); *cloccarium* 'belfry' 314.9 (paired with *lucar*, W-L a.1120); *cresco* 'cress' 311.9 (W-L *cresso* a.1250); *falcastrum* 'bill-hook' 318.18 (W-L s.v. *falcatio*, a.1300, but much older, cf. Isidore, *falcastrum a similitudine falcis vocatum: est autem ferramentum curvum cum manubrio longo, ad densitatem veprium succidendam*, 20.14. 5); *filiaster, -stra* 'step-son, -daughter' 299.5 (W-L male c.1130, female 1204; the gloss shows that the female was intended); *fossorium* 'spade' 318.17 (paired with *vanga*, W-L a.1135, *ferramentum fossorium* c.1090, but cf. Isidore, *alii generaliter fossorium vocant, quod foveam faciat*, 20.14.7); *hermodactula* 'colchicum' 311.13 (W-L s.v. *Hermula, hermodactylus* a.1250); *hyricius* 'hedgehog' 309.11 (paired with *erinacius*, W-L *hericius* c.1325, but in a transferred sense 'stockade' 1167, which is also classical Latin); *indicatorium* 'bookmark' 314.5 (W-L only adj. *indicatorius* 1552 s.v. *index*); *luceus* 'pike' 308.9 (W-L c.1170); *mantele* 315.16 (paired with *manuter(g)ium*, and explained by Isidore, *mantelia nunc pro operiendis mensis sunt; quae, ut nomen ipsud indicat, olim tergendis manibus praebebantur* 19.26.6; W-L *mantile* 'altar-cloth' c.1190); *medo* 'mead' 315.14 (W-L

meda 1130, cf. Isidore, *medus, quasi melus, quia ex melle fit* 20.3.13); *mulsum* 'mead' 315.14 (paired with *ydromellum* and glossed 'beer', W-L s.v. *mulcedo*, 13c., Isidore, *mulsum ex melle mixtum; est enim potio ex aqua et melle* 20.3.10); *pedula* 'shoe' 315.4 (W-L, s.v. *pes, pedule, pedulis* c.1200, *pedulus* c.1250); *polipedium*, a plant-name, 310.12 (W-L a.1250, Isidore *polypodion* 17.9.62); *postela* 'crupper' 317.16 (W-L *postella* c.1200, though its counterpart *antela* is recorded as c.1000); *rocea* 'roach' 308.7 (W-L *rochia* c.1200, *rocea* a.1275); *sabina* 'savin' 312.9 (W-L *sabina* 14c, *savina* c.1200); *scansile* 'stirrup' 317.14 (W-L a.1180, s.v. *scansio*, a meaning not yet known to Isidore 20.11.8); *solarium* 'upper room' 317.2 (W-L c.1125, s.v. *sol*); *sottus* 'sot' 305.15 (W-L c.1125); *tanicetum* 'tansy' 311.1 (W-L a.1250, s.v. *athanasia*); *toral* 'coverlet' 315.4 (W-L 1144, s.v. *torus*, cf. Isidore 19.26.6, and classical); *tractorium* 'windlass' 314.15 (W-L 15c., s.v. *tractio*); *vanga* 'spade' 318.16 (paired with *fossorium*, W-L 1276); *ustulatio* 302.17 (paired with *arsura*, q.v., W-L 12c., s.v. *ustio*); and *ydromellum* 315.14 (paired with *mulsum*, W-L c.1100, s.v. *hydriola*, but cf. Isidore, *hydromelum, quod fiat ex aqua et malis Matianis* 20.3.11, which suggests rather a kind of cider).

In addition to the words entered in the W-L for later dates than Ælfric the following of reasonably certain meaning are not included: *aneta* 'duck' 307.5, possibly a feminine formation from classical *anas*; *cudo* 'smith' 301.13, paired with *faber*; *enula* 304.7, in a series of words connected with book production, taken by B-T, second supplement, as *pennula* misread *perula* (W-L 1240, s.v. *perla*), but the Cornish gloss is *baiol* which suggests that Old English *pærl* is an error for *pægl*, and that a container for liquid is intended, cf. W-L *enum* 'pail' c.1200; the diminutive may perhaps be 'inkwell'; *fannus* 308.6, a fish name, perhaps 'roach'; *feruncus* 309.9, an animal variously interpreted as 'marten, polecat, ferret, weasel', presumably a diminutive from adj. *ferus*; *lucar* 314.9, paired with *cloccarium* 'belfry'; *manicae* 'handcuffs' 321.2, cf. Isidore, *manicae sunt vincula quibus manus capiuntur; licet et manicae tunicarum sunt* 5.27.10; *mento* 317.14, an item of saddlery, perhaps 'saddle-cloth'; *munctorium* 'tongs' 314.8, though the etymology would suggest rather 'snuffers'; *murilegulus* 'cat' 309.10, paired with *cattus* and *muriceps*, cf. W-L *murilegus* a.1142, of which this is presumably a diminutive, formed in ignorance of the existence of late Latin *murilegulus* 'fisher for murex' the purple dye fish; *musa* 302.5, glossed 'pipe or whistle', perhaps a specialisation of *Musa*; *parrax* 307.12, a bird name, glossed 'wren'; *taricus* 308.5, Greek *tarikhos* 'dried or smoked fish', here paired with *allec*, W-L 1086 'herring'; *ulcea* 317.14, another saddlery item, perhaps 'flaps'.

In view of the difficulties of identification it is less surprising that a number of plant-names have been omitted, though elsewhere such unidentified names are included and labelled 'bot.'. Such are, with tentative identifications based on the glosses: *adriaca* 'comfrey' 310.14; *avadonia* 'mullein, verbascum' 310.10; *camicula* 'argentil' 311.6; *citsana* 'fleur-de-lys' 311.2; *dilla* 'dock' 310.8; *epicurium*, variously rendered, 311.1; *helena* 'elecampane' 311.8; *libestica* 'lovage' 310.8; *magudaris*, paired with *caula*, classical *caulis* 'colewort, cabbage', but the Greek word is defined

as 'stalk, juice, or root of laserpitium, source of assa foetida'; *modera* 'chickweed' 311.7; *sinitia* 'groundsel' 310.10; *slaregia* 'clary' 310.14; *tidolosa* 'crow-garlic' 311.13, paired with *hermodactula*; *ulcia* 'holly' 321.8.

NOTES

[1] References are to page and line of J. Zupitza: *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar* (Berlin, 1966, a reprint of the original edition of 1880).

[2] I gloss only Latin words which have not subsequently passed into English in approximately the form and sense which they have here.

[3] *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, recognovit . . . W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911).

[4] *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, ed. R.E. Latham (London, 1965), hereafter W-L.

BLOSSOM IN THE BREACH: SOME COMMENTS ON THE LANGUAGE OF SPRING IN *THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE*

By Elizabeth Williams

When we read the opening lines of *The Owl and the Nightingale* it is difficult to avoid the impression of being drawn into some disarmingly familiar territory. We know this summer valley, this nightingale singing on a blossoming bough: we have been here before in a score of poems, not all of them medieval. The pleasurable nature of the experience is, moreover, confirmed later in the poem, when the Nightingale herself finds a chance to play to the gallery on the same theme and takes full advantage of it (ll.433-46).

Material like this, particularly as the opening to a poem, seems almost too traditional to need annotation. The notes to E.G. Stanley's edition,[1] however, refer us to H.E. Sandison's classic monograph, *The "Chanson d'Aventure" in Middle English*,[2] as a reminder of one kind of poem which frequently begins in this way; and at the later lyrical outburst by the Nightingale J.W.H. Atkins[3] quotes from a troubadour poem, the Latin debate of *Flora and Phyllis* and two of the Harley Lyrics. The range of these references draws attention to some (though not all) of the different kinds of composition that employ this spring material - debate, love-song and the semi-narrative *chanson d'aventure* - but it should not be overlooked that, of the parallels cited, all are either in languages other than English or are later than *O & N*. Our sense of familiarity is, in fact, largely an effect of hindsight: the English poet is indeed drawing on a tradition but it is not one that can yet be said to have established itself in the English language[4] at this date. Even if *O & N* were composed as late as the 1260's, which seems to be about its upper limit (though a date towards the end of the twelfth century remains a possibility),[5] then it still stands almost alone in English with regard to its genre and style, antedating any other debate,[6] most major lyrics including those of MS Harley 2253,[7] and the earliest extant example of *chanson d'aventure*.[8] The conventions employed must then have reached the poet in some other language, presumably Latin or French, and we may well have in *O & N* one of the first appearances in Middle English of what is only later to become the familiar *reverdie*.

It may therefore be worthwhile to speculate a little on some of the forms in which the tradition may have been known to the English poet, and in the light of these to look more closely at his own use of it. Like all good conventions a *reverdie* gains usefulness by being used: seldom appearing for its own sake it generally serves as a prelude to something else, and through its frequent occurrence in particular contexts tends to arouse certain expectations in the

reader which the poet can rely on, to confirm or confound as he will. A fresh look at one or two of the contexts available in the first half of the thirteenth century may therefore provide some reminders about the literary background of *O & N*, which otherwise stands so much on its own, as well as drawing attention to the particular character of this pioneering example of *reverdie* in English.

By the period of *O & N* the principal context of *reverdie*, associating the fresh growth of spring with human love, has been established in Latin quite long enough to be usable in more than one way. The immediate impression of a "spring opening" is generally happy, but a contrastive function for the device is often found in poems that go on to describe a situation of pain or frustration. The spring idyll is therefore readily available as a counterbalance to something in quite different mood. Less immediately obvious is the further possibility that the *reverdie* itself may vary in tone, or in the selection of the elements that make up the description: spring, like love, can be viewed through spectacles of more than one colour.

The *locus classicus* for *reverdie* remains, however, the love-lyric, and one of its more familiar manifestations in this period is the French *pastourelle*, with its first-person narrator wandering romantically through a spring landscape and encountering a pretty girl. Poems of this kind can hardly have been unknown to the poet of *O & N* but they were presumably continental ones: *pastourelles* and *chansons dramatiques*[9] are known in France from the later twelfth century[10] but none is extant in English until the fourteenth, and an English provenance does not seem to have been suggested for any of the French examples.[11] We shall return to these, but it may be best to start by examining the *reverdie* tradition as it appears in the genre to which *O & N* strictly belongs, namely the debate, whose early appearance in England is not in doubt.

A spring-opening, however brief, is not unknown in Latin debates, particularly (and not surprisingly) in those which deal with vernal subjects, such as the Carolingian *Rose and Lily* of Sedulius Scottus,[12] or the later *Flora and Phyllis*,[13] cited by Atkins. This latter belongs to the twelfth century, when debates were enjoying a vigorous revival, and is therefore closer to the time and (perhaps) the literary interests of the English poet. In it the opening description finds a later echo in the account of Love's paradise where the two debating maidens go for their verdict. They too are the subject of some elaborate description, and the poem is one of the earliest examples of a debate on the subject of whether a clerk or a knight makes the better lover, a topic which gives rise to a whole group of debate poems in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, chiefly in French.

These French clerk/knight debates may perhaps be seen as providing a kind of thematic link between the love-lyric, where the association of the vernal landscape with love and pretty girls is already established, and *O & N*, where the *reverdie* precedes a debate on subjects by no means unconnected with love though not restricted to them. The French poems also have features which suggest that they may have stood in a particularly close relationship to the

English one. The maidens, for instance, do their own debating, but they also have birds to fight as their champions, one of which is nearly always a nightingale (though the other is never an owl). Apart from some coincidence of subject-matter, however, there is also evidence that clerk/knight debates enjoyed at least some kind of a vogue in England in the thirteenth century, and therefore have a more objective claim to having formed part of the *Owl*-poet's own literary milieu. Of the texts published by Charles Oulmont,[14] who studied the group as a whole, two are in Anglo-Norman, and one of these, *Le Geste de Blancheflour e de Florence*,[15] which also exists in continental French versions, ends with the tantalizing and well-known stanza which implies that there was once actually a version in English:

> Banastre en englois le fist,
> E Brykhulle cest escrit
> En franceois translata. (427-9)[16]

(Banastre made it in English, and Brykhulle translated this writing into French.)[17]

The obvious interpretation of this is to assume a lost English poem as the direct source of the Anglo-Norman one. Professor Legge (p.335) suggests that it may alternatively point to a common original, perhaps in Latin, for both poems, but whatever the precise truth may be the lines are at least evidence for the existence of another debate poem not merely in England but in English in the thirteenth century,[18] which helps to supply at least a partial context for *O & N*, which otherwise seems so unparalleled as a quality product in this genre and language at this date.

O & N opens, as has been noted, with a first-person reference that at least suggests the conventional opening of a *chanson d'aventure*. In *Blancheflour e Florence* the likeness is even closer:

> L'autre hier m'en aloi jwant,
> De mes amors rejoïssaunt,
> Deleez une praierie. . . (1-3)

(The other day I went out, amusing myself, delighting in my loves, beside a meadow . . .)

But this artlessness gives way at once to a spring description of exceptional elaboration, with set-piece lists of musical instruments, jewels, trees and birds to produce an ostentatious display of delights beneath which can still just be seen the classic *locus amoenus* with its requisite "charms of landscape", here used as a series of pegs on which the poet can parade the resources of his vocabulary. This technique could hardly be more different from the modest allusions in *O & N*, but it is nonetheless a logical, if extreme, development of a general tendency in these poems to present the landscape as an aspect of the courtly and aristocratic life-style, nature tamed for the delight of knights and ladies. The poem, however, stands apart from other clerk/knight debates in not featuring a nightingale, the maidens' champions being a lark (for Blancheflour and the cause of

clerks) and a popinjay (for Florence and knights). Uniquely also the knight is adjudged the superior lover, one of the objections to the love of clerks being that a connection *sans esposailles* (173) is shameful, an interesting suggestion of a preference for a respectable rather than a purely romantic connection, though it is also clear that the low social status of clerks weighs quite as heavily with Florence as their regrettable celibacy.

The "courtly" concerns of the poem go only so far. Comment has been made on the blunt language used by the maidens in their argument. Florence, for instance, remarks that a clerk eats like a pig (185), which Blancheflour counters by drawing attention to the disagreeable duty of treating wounded knights with hot dung poultices (224-31). The actual language is not all that bad: the point is not so much that the maidens are swearing as that they are naming villainous objects, but nonetheless this is one of the features which led Oulmont to judge the Anglo-Norman clerk/knight debates as more "réalistes" than the French ones, ascribing the difference to the demands of "le tempérament anglais" (p.79). He also points out that in *Blancheflour e Florence* the maidens' bird-champions fight for them in natural bird-fashion, with beak and claws and feathers flying.[19] Whether or not we call this "realistic", parallels are suggested with the threats of violence made by both birds in *O & N*, as well as with the "shitwords" they use to each other.

There is of course no particular reason to assume specific influence here on the English poem. Indeed, if anything the Anglo-Norman piece is the later of the two,[20] but the dung poultices at least are mentioned also in the other Anglo-Norman clerk/knight debate, *Melior et Ydoine*,[21] and according to Kathryn Hume (p.37) "unlaundered language" is characteristic of debates on other subjects too. What is useful here, on the most general level, is the Anglo-Norman provenance, supplying a useful indicator of what was possible in debate poetry in thirteenth-century England. And even though the presentation of the spring environment in *Blancheflour e Florence* is elaborate to the point of pretentiousness the conduct of the dispute undoubtedly reveals a concern with the practicalities of life, adding a robust undercurrent to the brilliance of the setting and the surface elegance of the two females who use it to squabble in. The contrastive function of the *reverdie* is thus particularly marked, with the crudities kept apart from the landscape which remains exceptionally courtly and unsullied.

Not all Anglo-Norman debates are on the clerk/knight question and not all present the spring setting with this degree of elaboration, even though the idyllic flavour is retained. Another poem which may stand quite close to *O & N* is Chardry's *Le Petit Plet*, a debate between Youth and Age which is dated by its most recent editor "in the later years of the twelfth century or the early years of the thirteenth",[22] and may well therefore be exactly contemporary with the English poem. Indeed, the relationship between the two may be even closer, since of the three known manuscripts of *Le Petit Plet* two also contain *O & N*.[23] Again, we cannot assume that the *Owl*-poet knew the Anglo-Norman poem but, even more than with *Blancheflour e Florence*, it seems not unreasonable to see them as products of the same milieu.

The opening lines of *Le Petit Plet* seem at once far closer in tone to the English poem, an effect not wholly to be ascribed to the fact that they are both in octosyllables, a much more usual metre for French debates than the stanzas of *Blancheflour e Florence*. The whole introduction of subject and contestants is similar in directness, and even perhaps in phraseology:

> Beau duz seignurs, por vus dedure
> Vus cunterai un esveisure
> De un veillard e de un enfant
> Ki se entredalierent tant
> De juvente e de veillesce,
> De jolifté e de peresce.
> Chescun mustra sa grevance,
> Sa eise u sa mesestance:
> Si fu le estrif mult delitius
> Del veillart e del jofne tus. (1-10)

(Fair sweet sirs, to divert you I will relate an amusing tale about an old man and a boy who argued a great deal about youth and age, frivolity and indolence. Each aired his grievances, his comfort and his trouble: the conflict of the old man and the young lad was most enjoyable.)

There is no spring introduction here, and no "As I rode out" formula, but as the poet's interest concentrates on the young man we find him in fact setting out in very much the manner of the hero of a *chanson d'aventure*, supplying a kind of second start[24] for the poem as the setting is established:

> Un vaslet, ki mult esteit pensif
> E de divers pensers sutif,
> S'esbaneout par aventure
> Por joie aver e enveisure . . . (21-4)

(A young man, who was very thoughtful and subtle in various ideas, was seeking diversion by chance to find delight and pleasure . . .)

In due course he reaches the predictable location:

> Mes por tolir mauveis penser
> Se mist tut sul en un verger . . . (45-6)
> . . .
> Par le verger e sa e la
> Icest vaslet itant ala
> Ke il choisi une funtaine
> Dunt l'ewe esteit e clere e seine.
> La surse esteit e nette e bele
> Ke rouleout cele gravele,
> Si fu la noise duce e sutive,
> Si resemblout ben chose vive.
> Trestut entur fu l'erbe drue
> Estencelee de flur menue,

E si esteint li arbre haut,
Ke ja si grant ne fust le chaut
Ke nul en fust gueres grevee,
Ja si chaut ne fust l'estee.
Les oiseals de meinte manere
Se acosteient a la rivere;
Por le verdur e por la flur
Mult chantoient a grant duçur. (55-72)

(But to be rid of worrying thought he went all alone into an orchard . . . Through the orchard on this side and that this youth went walking until he noticed a fountain whose water was clean and wholesome. The spring was pure and fair as it tumbled the pebbles, and the noise was sweet and subtle: it seemed just like a living thing. All around the grass was flourishing, dotted with little flowers, and the trees were so high that, however great was the heat, no one was at all oppressed by it, no matter how hot the summer was. Birds of many kinds gathered by the river; they sang for the greenness and the flowers, abundantly and with great sweetness.)

Unlike the elaborate setting of *Blancheflour e Florence* this description does not actually open the poem, but it undoubtedly starts it on its way, and with passages like this available in debate poems it begins to seem as if what is sometimes regarded as the characteristic opening to a *chanson d'aventure* is far from peculiar to it. As we have seen, the evidence for the existence of *chanson d'aventure* in England at this time is in fact very meagre, though this does not mean that the *Owl*-poet did not know French examples: literary historians[25] seem to treat debate and lyric as close relations, so perhaps to know one was to stand a good chance of knowing the other.[26] At all events, as far as the actual form of the opening goes, we hardly need to assume direct knowledge of pastoral lyrics to account for the presence in *O & N* of a *reverdie* associated with a first-person narrator and acting as prelude to an overheard dialogue or complaint: the poet could have found this also in debate. Where the special legacy of *pastourelle* may perhaps be distinguished is in the subtler area of the expectations aroused by the form: in particular, in *chanson d'aventure* there is a far greater certainty that a romantic encounter will follow, a certainty that can in due course come to be played on.

It was suggested above (pp.164-5) that the clerk/knight debates might be seen as forming a thematic link between an older lyric tradition and *O & N*: if an actual process of development is involved, the conventions of *pastourelle* already established in French, including a strong dialogue element as well as a spring opening, could easily merge with the more learned traditions of Latin debate, where the spring opening is also not unknown, to produce a fully-fledged contention, sometimes retaining the pastoral connection with matters of love and marriage, as the clerk/knight poems do, sometimes making use of the wider range of subjects found in the debate genre proper, as in *O & N*. Even the romantic expectations of *pastourelle* could

thus be carried over into debates. To see just how close the openings of the two kinds of poem are we can make use of Dr Sandison's summary of the features that usually mark the start of a *chanson d'aventure*:

> The manner in which the French poet ushers himself upon the scene is traditional. As a rule he mentions the day, usually *l'autrier* or *l'autre jour* ["the other day"], and the hour, regularly near dawn; he names or suggests the season (almost always *le douz tens nouvel* ["the sweet fresh season"]), often investing it with much grace . . . He appears alone, riding, or . . . walking, by a wood or along a meadow-side, *lons de gent* ["far from people"]; he is *pensis chief enclin* ["pensive, head bowed"] or . . . *dedusant, juant* ["amusing himself"] . . . When he chances to catch a glimpse of a fair shepherdess or a *dame* ["lady"] who sits *tote soule* ["all alone"] under a tree, or to hear a bit of her song . . . he must pause . . . to observe and perhaps to describe the woman's beauty . . .[27]

In this the parallels with the Anglo-Norman debates considered above are marked, and the association of the spring setting with love and maidens explicit. The essential linking feature is the leisurely and pensive young wanderer: without him we might simply have the classic *locus amoenus*, but with him the anticipations of a romantic encounter become far stronger. The two clerk/knight debates might be said actually to fulfil these: the first-person narrator appears, however vestigially, as the solitary wanderer, and overhears not one but two maidens discussing love. On the purely structural level the distinction between debate and *chanson d'aventure* here seems very fine.

With *Le Petit Plet* we have moved a little further from the pastoral lyric but the connection is still discernible. The wanderer is now no longer the narrator but one of the contestants, though his pensive association with the spring landscape remains suggestive, and his winning position at the end keeps the sympathies of the debate at least on the side of youth. Any romantic expectations engendered by the opening, however, are given a different turn, the old man articulating a position in pregnant contrast with the normal subject-matter of *chanson d'aventure*. But if the topics for discussion here extend well beyond those of youth, love and marriage these are by no means ignored, though they receive a still further twist when even the young man's views are found to be not wholly romantic: Professor Legge has drawn attention to his anti-feminist outburst (at l.1212 ff.) "which accords not too well with the rest of his argument" (p.198). Once again, then, we have a non-idyllic undercurrent, but it is of a different character from the waspish and even vulgar aggressiveness of Florence and Blancheflour. It is more bookish, wider-ranging, more serious, but it is still confined to the dialogue: the setting may not be associated so explicitly with the courtly life-style, but it still retains its spring perfection, untouched by any of the contrasting issues, whether the old man's or the youth's.

Against the background of poems like these we find that the

setting in *O & N* is much less fully described, but such as it is it centres first on the poet, the elusive but essential *ich* of the opening lines:

> Ich was in one sumere dale;
> In one suþe di3ele hale . . . (1-2)

Thinking for the moment in terms of the evocative machinery of *chanson d'aventure* we find in this brief compass the proper season and the seclusion, as well as the poet, who is shortly to hear not a maiden but a nightingale singing:

> Ho was þe gladur uor þe rise,
> & song a uele cunne wise.
> Bet þu3te þe dreim þat he were
> Of harpe & pipe þan he nere . . . (19-22)

We have already seen that birds feature strongly in clerk/knight debates. Birdsong also enhances the setting of *chanson d'aventure*,[28] and Dr Sandison even cites an example where a nightingale, rather than a maiden, utters the complaint.[29] The coincidence of poet, spring, secluded spot and even overheard nightingale can therefore be paralleled in both genres, so, as far as the actual items chosen for inclusion are concerned, the *Owl*-poet could have found the model for his opening in either. If, however, there is any question of his seeking to exploit, or invert, the expectation of a romantic encounter, it must have been *chanson d'aventure* that established that expectation.

There is one other point at which the style of the *reverdie* in a *chanson d'aventure* may be a little different from that found in the Anglo-Norman debates, particularly *Blancheflour e Florence*: what we have identified as a "prosaic undercurrent" is not so strongly marked in *chanson d'aventure*, partly because the spring setting is not presented to the same extent as an aspect of courtly life, and the social status of the encountered maiden is usually lower: as Dr Sandison indicates, she is just as likely to be a shepherdess as a *dame*. From such speakers blunt comments do not come with the same shock if they complain, as they sometimes do, of the infidelities of men, or the more general shortcomings of their husbands. A decidedly forthright tone is, for instance, heard in the earliest *chanson d'aventure* extant in English, where the *litel mai* roundly consigns her faithless lover to the worms: "The clot him clingge!"[30] This sort of thing does not jar with the scenery in the same way as Blancheflour's notorious dung-poultices, which are deliberately and gratuitously squalid. As always, however, no matter what the *dramatis personae* may say, the setting itself remains fresh and unpolluted, containing only the prettiest appurtenances of spring, trees, birds and blossoms: a place to idle rather than to toil in.

Now, on the face of it, the opening couplet of *O & N* seems very close to the formula of *chanson d'aventure*. Of the other debates examined *Blancheflour e Florence* is the only one that is equally close, but the unassuming start there leads into a scene of al fresco elegance far removed from the usual pastoral lyric. The artless

charm of the picture in *Le Petit Plet*, however, shows that an unpretentious approach is possible in debate also, and with that close, contemporary parallel before us we have no reason not to expect a similar sketch of rural prettiness from the *Owl*-poet, whichever tradition he is following. When he turns his attention to the Nightingale this expectation seems to be fulfilled, as he surrounds her with appropriate trimmings:

> Þe Niȝtingale bigon þe speche
> In one hurne of one breche,
> & sat up one vaire boȝe -
> Þar were abute blosme inoȝe! -
> In ore uaste þicke hegge
> Imeind mid spire & grene segge.
> Ho was þe gladur uor þe rise,
> & song a uele cunne wise. (13-20)
>
> . . .
>
> Þo stod an old stoc þarbiside,
> Þar þo Vle song hire tide,
> & was mid iui al bigrowe.
> Hit was þare Hule eardingstowe. (25-8)

A closer look at this passage, however, suggests that the setting is neither as conventional nor as homogeneous as it looks. For the first time here we have an indication that the unromantic alternatives, usually confined to the dialogue in both debate and *chanson d'aventure*, are here also a part of the landscape.

As the poet slips into the background to become the unobtrusive reporter of the ensuing debate, the prettiness of the Nightingale's setting, far from being a merely appropriate mise-en-scène, is also seen to have a thematic function, for the opposition of her blossoming twig and the Owl's *old stocc* is the base-line from which the two sides of the debate take off. This contrast goes much deeper than the simple antithesis of moods found in *chanson d'aventure*, where the beauty of spring adds point or poignancy to the lament of the maiden. *O & N* is actually structured around the split between the two sides of a debate, one of which, the Nightingale's, arises directly out of the romantic values of the traditional spring landscape. But the Owl is also a part of the landscape, and her ivied stump is not just an isolated blot on an otherwise artistic setting. Gothic decay had no charms for the real Middle Ages: the rural scene here carries its own counterblast to the escapism of idyllic charm. Twig and stump are the poles of the argument.

The symbolism of the birds' respective perches is a familiar point of critical comment;[31] what may, however, be worth exploring further is the way the opposed values are intrinsic in the rest of the description also. The whole landscape is, in fact, not as close as it may seem to the traditional one, but a more specific, perhaps even a parodic, variation on it. In order to establish this we need a standard against which to judge. The usual features of the classic *locus amoenus* have been conveniently summarized by Curtius:

> It is . . . a beautiful, shaded natural site. Its minimum ingredients comprise a tree (or several trees), a meadow, and a spring or brook. Birdsong and flowers may be added. The most elaborate examples also add a breeze.[32]

Our simpler medieval examples, such as that in *Le Petit Plet*, may be seen to be in this tradition. The *Owl*-poet, however, though ostensibly dealing in boughs, blossoms and birdsong, is actually giving us a rather different picture. It is not just that there is no running stream, or that the site is a valley rather than a meadow or orchard. The blossom is very specifically located neither on the grass, nor on the ubiquitous *spray* of later poets, but on a hedge which is most particularly described: it is thick, partly because of its own natural growth, and partly because of the *spire & grene segge* growing up independently inside it. This is a long way from the standard *locus amoenus*: plants may be precisely named in such a description - indeed, *Blancheflour e Florence* includes an elaborate list of trees - but these are mere mundane reeds. This *diȝele hale* does not bear the marks of a place tamed by the hand of man for man's (and woman's) delight: the hand of man may indeed have been at work in it, but more for use than pleasure.

The much-annotated word *breche* (14) is our best clue to the real nature of the spot. C.T. Onions' very full explanation[33] of the term marks it out as the kind of place that, far from being a pleasaunce, lies at the very edge of terrain man is reclaiming from the wild, "primarily a 'breach' made in a forest, that is, a clearing on one of its edges" (p.107).

Several things are notable here. First, the rarity of the word: this is the only example of a generic use recorded in the *Middle English Dictionary* (s.v. *brech(e)*, sense 6). All the other examples, the majority of which are thirteenth-century, are in place- and personal names (two of them, incidentally, compounded with *hurne*). Secondly, its particularity: far from belonging among the common descriptive terms of the *locus amoenus* it has a very specific use in local topography,[34] in quite a different league from *boȝe* and *blosme*. Thirdly, it is very much an agricultural term: this is not a garden but a bit of marginal land which man is painstakingly breaking up for cultivation, a clearance activity of which the Owl's *stocc* perhaps provides further evidence. Both birds therefore occupy sites which, while relating them on the one hand to the purely literary landscapes of romantic poetry, also place them in a more prosaic world of rural toil, poised, moreover, on the very boundary between the wild and the tame.

It is possible, though not as certain, that the *sumere dale* of the opening line is another place of this kind. Perhaps even more heavily annotated than *breche*, *sumere*'s problems are complicated by the fact that we may be meant to read it as a form of *sum*.[35] A "summer" reading would on the whole seem preferable, both contextually and syntactically, but if so it antedates the earliest recorded instance in OED of the Old English noun *sumer* used attributively. The earliest such use cited (in *Dame Sirith*) may not

be very much later than *O & N*, but the previous history of the word records it in largely pragmatic contexts, describing something in use, or available, only in summer. Old English noun compounds recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* and its various supplements[36] include *sumer-hæte* (and *-hat*), *sumer-lida*, *sumer-boc* (and *-rædingboc*) and *sumer-selde* (and *-hus*). To these we might add, from the rare examples OED records from c.1300, *summer('s)day*.[37] The weight of the evidence would therefore indicate that a *sumere dale* would be not merely a poetic "valley in summer" but an agricultural "valley used for summer grazing", as Dickins and Wilson show.[38]

In *breche*, then, we seem to have an example of the poet, in his own voice and not that of one of his characters, electing to include in his setting an actual feature that is not especially poetic or romantic. *Sumere* has more claim to being a conventional reference to the appropriate season, but in association with *dale* it too may be seen as a term denoting agricultural function rather than evoking poetic atmosphere. The *vaire boȝe*, *blosme* and *rise* surrounding the Nightingale are more usual features of the *locus amoenus*, and indeed, if we include the bird's song we have three of Curtius' desiderata, but we can hardly call the actual words conventional at this date, since we have so little in English to judge them by. "Bough" and "blossom" will undoubtedly become common later in similar descriptive contexts, sometimes alliterating together.[39] A "rise" will also become a very familiar place for finding flowers, especially the alliterating "rose",[40] but it is perhaps worth noting that this word also continued to be available in agricultural contexts as a term for prosaic twigs and brushwood.[41]

Blossoms, boughs and singing birds, then, while being perfectly acceptable features of the poetic landscape, are not here presented with quite the usual accompaniments. Against this background the hedge too acquires new significance. When the *chanson d'aventure* catches on in English the wanderer will be found riding *by grene wode*,[42] and his maiden *under a bogh*,[43] which implies something more substantial than a hedge. The Nightingale's hedge, moreover, as we have seen, is not merely closely-observed but closely-woven and therefore efficient. Again it is a useful agricultural barrier rather than the artfully planted shade-trees round the grassy plot designed purely for dalliance. The Nightingale may have chosen to sing among blossom for aesthetic reasons but she does not hesitate to draw attention to its protective function as well, referring to her twig as a *castel gode* (175) and observing,

> "ȝif ich me holde in mine hegge,
> Ne reche ich neuer what þu segge." (59-60)

The usual literary context for hedges in early Middle English cannot really be established on the basis of Old English, as the *locus amoenus* occurs too infrequently there for just comparison,[44] but dictionary entries for both "hedge" (OE *hecg*) and "hay" (OE *hege*) produce a majority of references in such sources as charters and glosses to hedges as boundaries and defences, again isolating the practical function of a hedge as something that divides one man's property from another's, or marks the point where man's sphere of

influence stops altogether and nature takes over. The *spire & segge* growing up inside this particular hedge, moreover, carry a strong suggestion of water, perhaps another indication of the marginal nature of the land, as being awkwardly marshy. Is it, perhaps, also one more variant on the *locus amoenus* convention, an uncongenial transformation of the running brook? It is interesting, however, that the weeds are named at all: according to the dictionaries the only previous example of *spire*, "reeds", is in the OE *Leechdoms*, and the only subsequent examples recorded in this sense up to 1500 are in Bible translations. *Segge*, though apparently less rare, has a broadly similar range, in predominantly non-literary texts even after descriptions of the *locus amoenus* have become common. Clearly neither plant is in the common literary vocabulary, a far cry indeed from the ubiquitous rose and lily.

Rose and lily are not mentioned either in *Svmer is Icumen in*,[45] one of the very few secular lyrics which may come within the date-range allowed for *O & N*, albeit the very end of it. As it is also comparable in provenance[46] it is perhaps not without interest that this poem reveals an attitude to nature not unlike that outlined above. In the first stanza the purely botanical aspects of spring are generalised in the lines,

> Groweþ sed and bloweþ med
> And springþ þe wde nu. (3-4)

The second stanza, however, evokes something much more like the practical husbandry suggested by the *breche* and *hegge* of *O & N*: the actual presence of man is even less explicit than it is in the debate, but the lamb and calf are very much man's concern. As Edmund Reiss puts it, the poet's "visions and interests seem to be those of the farmer who looks around his plot of ground and knows that the health of nature contributes to his own well-being".[47]

As for "Bulluc sterteþ, bucke uerteþ" (8), a slight doubt may hang over what precisely the buck may be doing[48] but the presence of the female animals makes it quite clear why both bullock and buck are feeling skittish. The line is in fact an excellent analogue to the Owl's later comment on spring fever:

> Vor none dor no leng nabideþ,
> Ac eurich upon oþer rideþ.
> The sulue stottes ine þe stode
> Boþ boþe wilde & merewode;
> & þu sulf art þaramong,
> For of golnesse is al þi song. (493-8)

The lyric however is notably free of moral comment on the situation. The opening of *O & N* also seems free of it, explicit comment like the above arising only later, but the initial spring description which is, on the surface, so artless, is not in fact quite devoid of premonitory hints. Just as *Blancheflour* makes the most of the squalid side of sick-nursing so the Owl takes care to strip the specious romantic allure from the poetic landscape, labelling courtship junkettings as mere *golnesse*. This severe view of

man's animality is found also in some of the summer/winter debates,[49] which similarly refuse to be taken in by the literary view of spring, but the opening lines of *O & N* have already at least hinted that man's real relationship to the seasonal round is one of toil, breaking up the marginal land, moving out to the summer pasture.

Yet the rose-coloured view implicit in the *blosme* and *rise* remains available, and this too is shamelessly exploited by the Nightingale when her turn comes. T.A. Shippey[50] has pointed out the way in which the ready-made associations of this never-failing convention are used by the Nightingale to prejudice the easy sympathy of the jury on her side.[51] Here are no more allusions to *breche* and *segge*, no hints that love is *golnesse*. Instead the rose and lily are not merely evoked but personified in all their sentimental charm:

> Ac ich alle blisse mid me bringe,
> Ech wiȝt is glad for mine þinge
> & blisseþ hit wanne ich cume,
> & hiȝteþ aȝen mine kume.
> Þe blostme ginneþ springe & sprede,
> Boþe ine tro & ek on mede.
> Þe lilie mid hire faire wlite
> Wolcumeþ me - þat þu hit wite! -
> Bid me mid hire faire blo
> Þat ich shulle to hire flo.
> Þe rose also, mid hire rude
> Þat cumeþ ut of þe þornevvode,
> Bit me þat ich shulle singe
> Vor hire luue one skentinge.

Unlike the compact opening description with its particular agricultural detail this is expansive, a leisured rhapsody on flowers. Grammatical repetition supplies a smooth momentum (441-2; 445) and the triteness of some of the generalisations is drowned in the accumulation of words implying pleasure (433-6). The result is by no means ineffective, but the Nightingale is being allowed to play on the potential of the material in a much more obvious and familiar way than is done in the opening lines. Such a passage would not be possible without a full awareness of the normal associations of the objects named, but it also illuminates the very different character of the opening *reverdie*: this thornwood is being allowed to flower for its own sake rather than to create shelter for a threatened songbird.

Awareness of the normal associations must have been unavoidable by the time of *O & N*, whether or not the poet knew *pastourelle* directly. His role of detached observer seems characteristic of the French lyric but there is not in fact much in the *pastourelle* tradition that he could not have found in Anglo-Norman debates, if our surviving examples may be taken as typical, and it is these which are closer in date and provenance to his assumed milieu. Debate in particular supplies some suggestive use of the parodic undercurrent to spring, though the English poet's use here is hard to parallel in either genre. Far from employing the landscape simply

for contrast he shows it to be itself two-sided, the *spire* and *segge* growing up through the *rise*, allowing his two contestants to exploit each in turn, the romantic surface and the sweaty underside.

Like Nicholas of Guildford he can allow a warm response to the *wiȝte gente & smale* (204) in his summer valley, but he can also work the ground in a purely practical way for man's benefit so that *Hit is þe betere into Scotlonde* (1758). Like the wren, who can persuade the jangling birds to seek arbitration on the very verge of an armed confrontation, this secluded spot combines the advantages of wild origins and man-made discipline (1724-6). Implicit in it is the central concept of usefulness, that single stable criterion of judgement which provides almost the only fixed point around which the birds finally agree to argue, the standard they can both accept.

Several critics in the last few years have stressed the element of parody and burlesque in *O & N*.[52] A fair bit of ruthless undercutting is clearly intrinsic to the debate genre, but the process needs to be described with care, since undercutting does not necessarily lead to total collapse. It is, for instance, a little misleading for John Gardner to claim that the beauty of the Nightingale's song is devalued by the *breche* of its setting:[53] the opening of the poem in fact maintains the two views of nature, the romantic and the agricultural, in precise balance and neither is toppled; it could as fairly be argued that the mundane *breche* is redeemed by its singer. As is usual in debate, it is left to the speakers to attempt the real toppling, which they do, the Owl grossly over-emphasising man's animal side, the Nightingale his sentimental.

This attempt to explore the tradition of the *reverdie* in thirteenth-century England in order to elucidate some of the reverberations of the opening of *O & N* may be thought to be approaching the position of Atkins, who identified the Nightingale firmly as the advocate of the new lyric traditions of France, and the whole poem as a literary comment. It is not the purpose of this article to put forward this or any other complete interpretation of *O & N*: literary associations, however, are undoubtedly exploited, and we may perhaps conclude with one final suggestion.

We have already seen how *chanson d'aventure* almost invariably leads up to an encounter with a pretty girl. It is not unknown for debate to do the same, or for the girl to be described, perhaps at some length. Researches into medieval rhetorical arts have now made us very familiar with the technique of describing a beautiful woman by means of the "descending catalogue".[54] Are our romantic expectations therefore meant to be given their first real knock when, instead of the usual pink and white damsel, we are presented with a nightingale's-eye-view of an owl?

> Þi bodi is short, þi swore is smal,
> Grettere is þin heued þan þu al;
> Þin eȝene boþ colblake, & brode
> Riȝt svvo ho weren ipeint mid wode.
> Þu starest so þu wille abiten
> Al þat þu mist mid cliure smiten.
> Þi bile is stif & scharp & hoked

Ri3t so an ovvel þat is croked.
Þarmid þu clackes oft & longe,
& þat is on of þine songe.
Ac þu þretest to mine fleshe,
Mid þine cliures woldest me meshe. (73-84)

The catalogue, it is true, is not complete, and does not wholly stick to the descending order, but then it did not always do so, and the sequence of head/eye/beak is maintained. Significantly the claws are anticipated, sinisterly out of place in association with the beak, before recurring where they should be at the end.[55] This is indeed a portrait that concludes, as Geoffrey de Vinsauf recommends, *ad unguem*.[56] It might also be said to have begun with an inversion of the reference to Nature which occurs at the start of Geoffrey's specimen description: the Nightingale's first, and recurring, epithet for the Owl is *unwiht* (33, 90, 218), expressing her conviction that she is addressing something wholly *un*natural.

Parody is strongly suggested by some of the detail. As usual English parallels tend to be late, but the short body and neck are humorously out of key with the slender shapeliness of the ladies in two of the standard fourteenth-century portraits, the fair maid of Ribblesdale[57] and Chaucer's Blanche.[58] The Owl's eyes have a special significance, for a lady's eyes should indeed be large, but not staring. The Ribblesdale lady has eyes *grete ant gray ynoh* (16) but the picture of Blanche perhaps defines the acceptable limits more clearly:

Hyt was hir owne pure lokyng
That the goddesse, dame Nature,
Had mad hem opene by mesure,
And close; for, were she never so glad,
Hyr lokynge was not foly sprad,
Ne wildely, thogh that she playde. (870-5)

Two fifteenth-century lyrics cited by Kevin S. Kiernan[59] in connection with "descending catalogues" are even further from *O & N* in time, but as they are overt parodies of something which has by then become an outworn convention they sum up even better the parodic possibilities in our Owl. A mock epistle from a lady to her lover defines him as a paragon *euyn as an Oule / ys best and most fauoryd of ony odyr foule!*[60] In his reply to this the lover employs the same sort of comparison with mundane objects that the Nightingale goes in for in *Ri3t so an ovvel*[61] *þat is croked* (*O & N*, 80), while unlovingly

Rememberyng your grete hede and your forhed round,
Wyth Staryng eyen, visage large & huge,
And eyþer of youre pappys like a water-bowge. (19-21)[62]

By this date it looks almost as if the owl has become the type of ugliness for both sexes, but this should not be taken to support the idea of any real "undercutting" of romantic convention in *O & N*. Literary parody there may be, but this does not alter the fact that

what is being described in *O & N* actually *is* an owl, seen through the eyes of one of its natural victims, and in a genre where overstatement is part of the attacking technique. The integrity of the original image of beauty is what gives this ruthless variant its impact.

Chaucer has come in for a good deal of praise for the way his portrait of Chauntecleer applies this old *descriptio* formula to a bird, even *ad unguem*.[63] Chaucer is, however, quite big enough to concede the credit for having been the first to think of it to one of his few predecessors who come anywhere near him in wit and learning.

NOTES

1 *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. E.G. Stanley (London, 1960). All quotations are from this edition. For brevity the poem is referred to throughout this article as *O & N*.

2 Bryn Mawr College Monographs, 12 (Bryn Mawr, Penn., 1913).

3 *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. J.W.H. Atkins (Cambridge, 1922).

4 This is not to deny that "spring openings" may also be found in Old English poetry: H.B. Hinckley pointed out the parallel with *Judgement Day II* ("The Date, Author, and Sources of the 'Owl and the Nightingale'", *PMLA* 44 (1929) p.356, note 85) but this does not imply a continuity of tradition from Old to Middle English.

5 For a summary of the dating problems see Kathryn Hume, *"The Owl and the Nightingale": the Poem and its Critics* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1975) Chapter 1. On the date of the Jesus MS see Betty Hill, "Oxford, Jesus College MS. 29: Addenda on . . . 'The Owl and the Nightingale'", *Notes and Queries* 220 (1975) p.105; and on the date of the Cotton MS see *"The Owl and the Nightingale" reproduced in facsimile . . .* , ed. N.R. Ker, *EETS*, 251 (London, 1963) pp.ix, xvi. Both MSS must be at least two removes from the author's original (see Stanley, p.5).

6 The next is *The Thrush and the Nightingale*, dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. A convenient edition is that in *Early Middle English Texts*, ed. Bruce Dickins and R.M. Wilson (London, 1951) pp.71-6.

7 Some items in this fourteenth-century MS must have been composed in the thirteenth century but this cannot be proved for the lyrics cited here. Quotations are taken from *The Harley Lyrics*, ed. G.L. Brook (3rd ed., Manchester, 1964), the poems being referred to by number.

8 *Nou Sprinkes the Sprai*, printed in *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1932) pp.119-20.

9 The term *chanson d'aventure* was of course first used by E.K. Chambers of the English examples ("Some Aspects of Mediæval Lyric", in *Early English Lyrics*, ed. E.K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick (London, 1907; reprinted 1966) p.266). For the French ones a distinction is observed between the *chanson dramatique*, in which the poet overhears something but does not take part in the action, and the *pastourelle*, in which he does. See also Sandison, *The "Chanson d'Aventure" in Middle English*, p.9ff.. (See note 2, above.)

10 See, for instance, Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1925) esp. Chapter 1.

11 See Jeanroy, and M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), esp. Chapter 13. Professor Legge comments, "Pastorals are rare in Anglo-Norman" (p.349).

12 *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. L. Traube, III, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1896) pp.230-1. See also Atkins, p.li, for references to many other Latin debates which open in this way.

13 The most convenient edition is probably that in *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, ed. F.J.E. Raby (Oxford, 1959) pp.312-16.

14 *Les Débats du Clerc et du Chevalier dans la Littérature Poétique du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1911). This book contains texts or summaries of most of the clerk/knight debates in French and Latin.

15 It is convenient to retain the two names in this order in referring to the Anglo-Norman poem to emphasise the distinction from the continental French versions of *Florence et Blanchefleur*. All these texts are of course distinct from the later romance of *Floire et Blancheflor*, with its Middle English translation, *Floris and Blauncheflour*, though J.C. Russell confuses them in his *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England, Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research. Special Supplement* 3 (London, 1936) p.183.

16 Quotations are from the text printed by Oulmont, pp.167-83. For attempts to identify the persons named see Legge, pp.334-5; Russell, *Dictionary*, s.v. Brykhulle, William Banastre, and "Some Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Norman Writers", *Modern Philology* 28 (1931) p.259.

17 Translations throughout are mine but I have not struggled to avoid coincidence of wording at some points with translations given by Professor Legge. I am grateful to Dr L.R. Muir for help with the French and Anglo-Norman texts.

18 Paul Meyer places *Blancheflour e Florence* at the end of the reign of Henry III, which is about the latest limit for *O & N*. (See "Notice du MS. 25970 de la Bibliothèque Phillipps", *Romania* 37 (1908) p.223.) It is also perhaps worth recalling here that the library catalogue of Titchfield Abbey records the existence of not merely a copy of a work described as "De conflictu inter philomenam et bubonem in anglicis", which cannot be either of our surviving MSS of *O & N*, but also another, "Altercationes inter bubonem et philomenam", which was probably in French. See R.M. Wilson, "The Medieval Library of Titchfield Abbey", *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 5 (1938-43) pp.155, 159, 274; and "More Lost Literature. II", *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* 6 (1937) pp.31-2.

19 Oulmont, p.15. In the other Anglo-Norman clerk/knight debate, *Melior et Ydoine*, they joust like knights. For the text see Oulmont, pp.183-96.

20 See above, note 18.

21 L.201. See above, note 19.

22 *Le Petit Plet*, ed. Brian S. Merrilees, *Anglo-Norman Texts* 20 (Oxford, 1970) p.xxxiii. All quotations are from this edition.

23 For MSS of *Le Petit Plet* see Merrilees, pp.xi ff.; for those of *O & N* see above, note 5.

24 *Melior et Ydoine* contains a similar "second start", in *chanson d'aventure* style, after an introduction of a dozen lines.

25 See for instance Jeanroy, especially Chapters 1 and 2; and Legge, Chapter 13.

26 The complete *pastourelle* opening formula is also found in the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman *Donnei des Amants*: see Legge, pp.128-30.

27 *The "Chanson d'Aventure" in Middle English*, pp.5-8.

28 Sandison, p.6, note 11.

29 P.8, note 21. The reference is to *Romances et Pastourelles Françaises*, ed. K. Bartsch (Leipzig, 1870; reprinted 1967) pp.22-3, no.27.

30 L.8. See above, note 8.

31 See, for instance, H. Hässler, *"The Owl and the Nightingale" und die literarischen Bestrebungen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, n.d.) pp.94-7.

32 E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.R. Trask (London, 1953) p.195.

33 "*Breche* in 'The Owl and the Nightingale'", in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jesperson*, ed. N. Bøgholm (Copenhagen and London, 1930) pp.105-8.

34 For more recent local use see *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. J. Wright, 6 vols. (London, 1898) (EDD), s.v. *breach*.

35 See Stanley's note to 1.1 for a summary of the problems.

36 J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary . . .* (Oxford, 1898; reprinted 1976); *Supplement with . . . Addenda* by A. Campbell (London, 1921, reprinted 1973).

37 In addition to the material in the dictionaries, the entry under *sumor* in A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (Cambridge, 1956) II, confirms this practical application of the word.

38 *Early Middle English Texts*, ed. Bruce Dickins and R.M. Wilson (London, 1951) p.183: their examples *summer-wall* and *summer-side* are dated by OED 1676 and 1440 respectively. See also the note on this line in the edition of the poem by J.H.G. Grattan and G.F.H. Sykes, *EETS*, 119 (London, 1935).

39 e.g. Harley Lyric 12, 1.4; *Sir Orfeo*, ed. A.J. Bliss (London, 1954) 1.61 (Auchinleck MS).

40 e.g. Harley Lyric 3, 1.11; 5, 1.32.

41 See OED s.v. *rice*[1]; EDD s.v. *rise*.

42 e.g. Harley Lyric 27, 1.2.

43 e.g. *Nou Sprinkes the Sprai*, 1.14. See above, note 8.

44 As well as the opening to *Judgment Day II* in *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. E.V.K. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* 6 (New York and London, 1942) pp.58-67 there is also the passage in *The Seafarer*, ed. I.L. Gordon (London, 1960) 11.48-9.

45 Printed in *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, ed. J.A.W. Bennett and G.V. Smithers (2nd ed., Oxford, 1968) p.110.

46 The MS of this lyric was produced at Reading Abbey, not very far from Guildford, a town not unconnected with the genesis of *O & N*. The date of the poem still seems to be controversial: see the references in Bennett & Smithers, pp.317-18.

47 *The Art of the Middle English Lyric* (Athens, Georgia, 1972) p.10.

48 The traditional translation of *uertep* is of course "farts" but Theodore Silverstein has pointed out, not without regret, that the buck may be just cavorting (*Medieval English Lyrics* (London, 1971) p.37).

49 See especially the thirteenth-century example summarized by Stanley pp.167-8 and quoted by Hässler pp.23-4 (see above, note 31). Both refer for the full text to H. Walther, *Das lateinische Streitgedicht des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1920) which I have not seen.

50 "Listening to the Nightingale", *Comparative Literature* 22 (1970) p.56.

51 G.G. Coulton must have been a member of it. One of the rare dissenting voices in the general chorus of praise for this poem he found this passage its only real success. ("The Owl and the Nightingale", *Modern Language Review* 17 (1922) p.71.)

52 See especially Hume, Chapter 7 (see above, note 5) and the further references given there.

53 "'The Owl and the Nightingale': a Burlesque", *Papers on Language and Literature* 2 (1966) p.11.

54 See especially D.S. Brewer, "The Ideal of Feminine Beauty in Medieval Literature . . .", *Modern Language Review* 50 (1955) pp.257-69; Benjamin S. Harrison, "Medieval Rhetoric in the 'Book of the Duchesse'", *PMLA* 49 (1934) pp.428-42; Kevin S. Kiernan, "The Art of the Descending Catalogue, and a Fresh Look at Alisoun", *Chaucer Review* 10 (1975-6) pp.1-16.

55 Kiernan (p.8 ff.) comments on this technique of dwelling on items out of order in other catalogues.

56 J.J. Murphy reminds us that this phrase was not originally meant to be taken literally: see his *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley and London, 1971) p.55. Nonetheless some medieval writers did so take it, see e.g. the portrait of Helen of Troy in Guido de Columnis, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. N.E. Griffin, *The Mediaeval Academy of America*, Publication No.26 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) p.73. Elsewhere Murphy has used the handling of rhetoric in the poem as evidence for its date, commenting: "The poem is a true product of the enlightened environment of discourse of the twelfth century. It is not in the spirit of the thirteenth." (*Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1978) p.230.)

57 Harley Lyric 7.

58 In "The Book of the Duchess". See *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F.N. Robinson (2nd ed., London, 1957) esp. p.274 ff..

59 See above, note 54.

60 Printed in *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. R.H. Robbins (2nd ed., Oxford, 1955) pp.219-20 (ll.6-7).

61 So far as I am aware no one has suggested the possibility of word-play here.

62 Printed in Robbins (see above, note 60) pp.220-2.

63 See, e.g., Kiernan p.11 (see above, note 54); and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, ed. Nevill Coghill and Christopher Tolkien (London, 1959) p.46.

ALEXANDERROMANCE: THE EGYPTIAN CONNECTION

By BETTY HILL

Our national treasures in the British Museum include, as Exhibit 10 in the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery, a great granite sarcophagus, rounded at one end and inscribed with scenes and texts from the *Book of what is in the Underworld.*[1] This empty sarcophagus, intended for Nectanebo II of the XXXth Dynasty, is significant for a study of the first Romance accretion in English to the historical Alexander the Great - the question of Alexander's paternity. I shall first sketch the Egyptian background, secondly, refer to and summarize the main points of the narrative from two English histories and thirdly, indicate some divergent treatments of the theme in four Middle English poems.

1. *The Egyptian background*

The source of Alexanderromance is the Greek *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, a combination of material from various sources, including local Egyptian legend. This work, once attributed to Aristotle's nephew Callisthenes who accompanied Alexander on the march, was probably compiled by an Alexandrian about the third century AD.[2] In the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* the romance elements, the conception of Alexander and death of Nectanabus, and the historical material, Alexander's avenging of his parents Olympias and Philip and his visit to the shrine of the God Amun in Libya, where he was given an oracle that he was Amun's son, form part of a connected account. In my opinion, the narrative of his conception and son-ship of Amun is an amalgam of two historical events.[3] First, in 343 BC, Nectanebo II, the last native Pharaoh of Egypt, fled with his treasure to Nubia from Memphis, the ancient capital of the Pharaohs, before the advancing Persians. Secondly, when Alexander had routed the Persians from Egypt, in 331 BC he visited the oracle of Amun, the chief Egyptian God, at Siwah, where Amun was depicted with a ram's head, and was welcomed by the officiating priest as "son of Amun".

Much discussion has been given to Alexander's motives in making this long expedition to the Libyan oasis of Siwah, partly because the affair attracted an aura of mystique, but chiefly because it is relevant to his subsequent claim to deification. But I think that the explanation lies in complicated Egyptian rite. With reference to the Pharaoh's place in the religious establishment, two acts were required for his deification. First, the national God visited the consort of the reigning Pharaoh, in the guise of her husband, to generate the divine nature of the future Pharaoh; and her husband generated the human form. This idea of the Pharaoh's two bodies,

the distinction between the divine character of the royal office and the human nature of the person holding it, is traceable from the IVth Dynasty. Secondly, the ceremonial act of coronation effected the transition of the Pharaoh from man to king as bearer of the divine office, responsible in his son-ship to his divine father, the visible incarnation of the deity and the agent of his wishes, since the reigning Pharoah was the medium by which the Egyptian God gained victories.

In Alexander's case these events, of necessity, took place in a different order. His coronation at Memphis by the priesthood was followed by his visit to the oracle, where as reigning Pharoah he was lawfully greeted as "son of Amun" and recognized as the agent of the God's wishes. Alexander's choice of Siwah for these traditional rites can be adequately explained by that oracle's long reputation for infallibility in the Greek world. But, further, Alexander, the deliverer and avenger of several years of Persian desecration of Egyptian Gods and temples, assured his popularity by immediately sacrificing to their Gods. So the Egyptians affirmed his sacrosanct kingship as the divine son of Amun by making him in their popular legends the natural son of Nectanebo II, the last native Pharaoh he Egypt. Thus, in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Nectanabus fled much earlier than his historical counterpart, travelled beyond Nubia to Macedon and made the comparatively simple conception of a Macedonian heir extremely complicated.

2. *The English histories*

The anonymous Old English translator of Orosius's *Historia adversum paganos*, in recounting Alexander's visit to the shrine of Amun, makes the first known reference in English to Alexander's dubious paternity and his reputed father, Nectanabus the sorcerer.[4] This isolated comment next appears in English as part of a fully-developed account in John of Trevisa's fourteenth-century translation of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*,[5] which I summarize. The enumeration and titles of the sections are mine.

(1) *The conception of Alexander*: when Philip of Macedon had reigned for twelve years and Nectanabus, King of Egypt, for seventeen, Nectanabus, who feared fighting, was victorious in war; for he secretly made apparently living and moving men and ships of wax in a basin of clear water. After invoking the Powers above and below through a hollow pipe, he sunk the wax ships and thereby his approaching enemies. But one time he foresaw his defeat and the necessity for escape. So he fled, disguised, with all his treasure and became as astrologer in Macedon during Philip's absence on combat. By enchantment, appearing as horned Jupiter, he fathered Alexander on Philip's wife, Olympias. A bird lay an egg in Philip's lap. It rolled off and broke, and a little dragon emerged from the shell, circumvented it, but died before it could manage to re-enter. Philip's chief soothsayer prophesied for Philip a son who would traverse all the world but die before he could return home. Alexander's birth is accompanied by suitable portents.

(2) *The death of Nectanabus*: later, during Philip's absence, Alexander asked Nectanabus to teach him his astrological skill.

He then threw the sorcerer into a convenient pit full of water, explaining that Nectanabus's astrology was faulty since it had not enabled him to divine his own future. Nectanabus then first revealed that he knew by his art that his own son would kill him, told Alexander all and died. The boy revealed this to Olympias.

(3) *Alexander's avenging of his parents*: after he had repudiated Olympias, Philip honoured Attalus, his new brother-in-law. So, at the bridal, Pausanius murdered Philip who had refused to right the wrongs Attalus had done Pausanius. Both Olympias and Alexander were suspect in Philip's death. She had been repudiated; and Philip had often reproved Alexander for his mother's conduct, and had behaved so threateningly to Alexander that for a time the boy lived in exile with Olympias's brother. Alexander hanged Pausanius, though Olympias afterwards set a gold crown on Pausanius's head.

(4) *Alexander's visit to Amun*: after his conquest of Egypt Alexander visited Jupiter Ammon for information about his future and his birth. For Olympias had confessed to Philip that Alexander's father was a great serpent, and Philip had publicly denied his own paternity. Alexander wished to be assured of his divinity and to clear his mother of slander. He bribed the bishops to give him the right answer and, on entering the temple, he was worshipped as though he were the God's son.

3. *The poetic treatments*

The four poems, which present extended accounts of the conception of Alexander and death of Nectanabus, and show different treatments of Alexander's avenging of his parents and his visit to Amun, form two distinct groups. The two alliterative works, *Alexander A*[6] and *The Wars of Alexander*,[7] derive from different recensions of Leo of Naples's tenth-century Latin translation[8] of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. The two versions in rhyming couplets, *Kyng Alisaunder*[9] and Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Book VI,[10] draw on the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*,[11] based on the ninth-century *Zacher Epitome*, an abridged version of Julius Valerius's fourth-century Latin translation[12] of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, though Gower used some material from the first recension of Leo's work. I take as my base text for this selective discussion the fragmentary *Alexander A*, which shows some unique features, supplemented by the *Wars*; and I indicate notable differences of treatment in the couplet versions. All four poems represent individual treatments, and they differ in their inclusion, omission and modification of material even when their different Latin sources are identical at specific points in the narrative.

(1) *The conception of Alexander*: in *Alexander A*, 453-65, the poet gives a unique introduction to a famous king of Egypt, of whose pedigree he can find no record, and stresses his magic arts by stating that Nectanabus did not inherit Egypt but conquered it by witchcraft. The narrative continues, 466-554, as in the *Wars*, which in its introduction adheres more closely to the source material, with an account of his sure defeat by the Persian king, since the God of Egypt could not help him, and his flight to Ethiopia with his astrological gadgets, unknown to be a king. The prayers of his

subjects to their God Serapis, on finding him gone, 555-66, are answered by the oracle that though their king has fled he will hurry back and avenge them against their enemies. In thanksgiving for a speedy answer, "þei . . . graveden a greate ston, a god as it were,/ Icorve after a kyng, full craftie of werk"/, 568-9, and inscribed the oracle at its feet. Meantime, 574 ff., Nectanabus hurries to the Macedonian court to gaze on Olympias's famed beauty. His motive at this point may be implied from an interpolated conventional description of her, 177-99, before she married Philip. The *Wars* is more explicit here: "Hire bewte bitis in his brest & his bodi thrillis, / And drifes thurȝe his depe hert as he ware dart-wondid"/, 224-5.

In both poems, the affair between them progresses by a technique of questions and answers relating to the Egyptian prophet's astrological skills. In *Alexander A*, 607-13, in reply to Olympias's question as to what he thought of when he first saw her, Nectanabus reveals that a bright God sent him to defend her from grief. He produces his astrological gadgets, 615-37, including the signs of the zodiac which the poet is reluctant to describe: "If any wight in this wonne wilnes þem knowe, / Kairus to þe Kalender and kenne yee may"/, 622-3. When Nectanabus has demonstrated his skill, Olympias reveals the motive for her interest in him. Prophets have told her, 651-5, that when Philip returns he will repudiate her and remarry. The poet then, in a unique interpolation, 656-70, explains Philip's motive and introduces Amun in a powerful aspect. Philip, on visiting the temple of his great God Amun, received an oracle that Olympias would have a child, the greatest in the world, but it would not be his. Nectanabus, 675 ff., assures her that though she will be repudiated later, Philip will take her back and a God will bring this about: "Hee hath hye on his hed hornes of sylver, / With a golde gailye begonne glisiing bright,"/ 697-8. He will visit her that night. Olympias assures Nectanabus that if this happens she will not merely revere him as a prophet, but regard him as an infallible God.

Nectanabus, 707 ff., secretly extracts herb juice to work a spell, which in the other three poems merely induces a dream of the God's visit, as prophesied. Only in *Alexander A* is this devilish magic double-strength and effects first, 719 ff., a transformation of Nectanabus into the God who visits her, and secondly, 726-9, a midnight dream of Amun's visit. Another unique interpolation stresses Amun's power, explains how Olympias recognizes him, and recalls the ram-headed Amun at Siwah:

> Þen was Amon ywis of worship alosed
> And igrett for a god, gretest in lond.
> Hee was ishape as a sheepe, shinand bright,
> Ipainted full prisely, and precious stones
> Wer sticked on þat stock, stoute too beholde.
> All þe ludes of þe lond, lordes and eles,
> Set hym for soveraine þeir sokour too beene
> And saide þere sacrifice in selkouth times. (730-7)

In Olympias's dream, she is told that she has conceived her defender

from sorrow, and the rôle of the child is established as his mother's avenger. Since, as Olympias explains, 753 ff., she does not know whether it was real or not, because while she was dreaming she was asleep, Nectanabus arranges to watch. His prophecy that the God will visit her again, first as a dragon, then as Nectanabus himself, is fulfilled, and the prophecy is given that her son will be honoured by all the world. But deluded Olympias believed that she had embraced a God, not a human, 779-90.

After this event, Nectanabus assures the Queen of Amun's protection against her husband, 804-6; and then deludes Philip by three successive manoeuvres. First, 807-74, by his enchantment, Philip dreams that Amun visits Olympias and prophesies that the child will defend herself and Philip from their enemies; and so the idea is established that Alexander will avenge both his parents. Secondly, 881-99, and this appears first as a separate incident in the second recension of Leo's Latin text, Nectanabus transforms himself into a dragon and fights successfully in the field on Philip's side. Thirdly, 974-98, during a great feast after Philip's return, Nectanabus, by fresh magic, gatecrashes as a dragon, terrifying all the men. But Olympias, recognizing her lover, returns the dragon's embrace, and Philip publicly recognizes his old army friend. After the episode of Philip and the bird's egg, *Alexander A* has a lacuna covering Alexander's birth and early years. The main points of interest of the account in the *Wars*, 525-656, are that Nectanabus ensures that Alexander is born with an auspicious horoscope, the portents at his birth ensure Philip's special care of him, and Alexander's school-days, despite his aggressive nature, ensure superb scholastic attainment and martial prowess. In *Kyng Alisaunder*, however, 638-48, the portents at Alexander's birth convince Philip that the child is evil, and, 651-80, Nectanabus raises the boy as a little gentleman with two dozen private tutors.

Both the couplet versions differ in content and attitude also in dealing with the affair between Olympias and Nectanabus. In the fuller treatment in *Kyng Alisaunder*, 71-456, the magician's initial motive for seduction is not attraction but revenge, for his hasty exile has resulted from Philip's destruction of his country, 129-32. Olympias, 156-247, immodestly flaunts herself for popular approbation on her birthday, approaches Nectanabus among the crowds and later sends for him. His process of inducing Olympias's dream of Amun, 331-42, is much clearer here, but the dream includes no oracle. The actual sequent nocturnal visits are extravagant and the whole affair is conducted in fabliau-style, with Nectanabus as the go-between for Olympias and the supposed God, 379-451. Although Olympias is not sympathetically presented in either of the couplet versions, the conclusions are individual. The author of *Kyng Alisaunder* inserts his own *sententia* on the Queen's behaviour:

> Olympias stant tofore Neptanabus
> Of her nywe loue wel desirous.
> So dooþ womman after mysdoyng,
> Ne can no shame ne no repentyng,
> Er she be lauȝtte in her folye
> So in þe lyme is þe fleiȝe. (415-20)

Gower, however, who presents Olympias in a more passive, naïve rôle, censures such a villainous gentleman of the bedchamber:

> Nectanabus hath that he wolde;
> With guile he hath his love sped,
> With guile he cam into the bed,
> With guile he goth him out ayein:
> He was a schrewed chamberlein,
> So to beguile a worthi queene,
> And that on him was after seene. (2094-2100)

Thus, whereas in Egyptian belief Amun assumed the form of the reigning Pharaoh in his divine nature to father the future Pharaoh, in the Middle English poems an exiled Pharaoh, no longer the divine office-bearer, assumes the form of the God to father Alexander, the future Pharaoh of Egypt.

(2) *The death of Nectanabus*: this is a self-contained episode in the couplet versions. In the alliterative poems, *Alexander A*, 1036-1106, and the *Wars*, 665-92, Olympias's dismay at Philip's open displeasure that Alexander does not resemble him causes Nectanabus to go out at night, accompanied by the boy, to compute the stars. In both poems, the immediate events leading up to the death of Nectanabus are treated, like those leading up to the seduction of Olympias, by a technique of questions and answers centering on Nectanabus's astrological skills. In *Alexander A*, 1084-91, the *Wars*, 713-16, and Gower's account, 2306-16, Alexander's motive in murdering the astrologer is to prove false his prediction that he would be killed by his own son. In *Kyng Alisaunder*, 725-36, he wishes to absolve his mother from slander as well as to belittle his tutor's art. In the couplet versions, *Kyng Alisaunder*, 740-2, and Gower, 2321-2, Nectanabus, before dying, discloses everything to Alexander; in the *Wars*, 724*, he simply reveals his paternity. Olympias, on hearing this, in *Kyng Alisaunder*, 747, cannot deny it, in Gower, 2328-30, is stunned by the deceit, and in the *Wars*, 736, is reproved by her son. In *Alexander A*, Nectanabus simply states: "Truthe have I þee tolde in tymes ypassed", 1093, and Alexander silences his sorrowful mother. Gower's account and *Alexander A* terminate here; in *Kyng Alisaunder* and the *Wars* the prophecies of vengeance and earthly conquest are fulfilled.

(3) *Alexander's avenging of his parents*: in the poems these are independent episodes.[13] The anti-feminine attitude prevails in both in *Kyng Alisaunder*. After public slander inimical to Olympias and Alexander, 993-1106, Philip, by decree of his nobles, repudiates Olympias, disinherits Alexander and remarries. Although Alexander, on returning from combat, reconciles his parents, he consigns his mother to silence since he knows the truth. In the avenging of Philip, 1331-58, Olympias and her lover Pausanius connive in her husband's murder. Alexander, returning from strenuous warfare, sees that Pausanius is despatched and is thanked by Philip. In the *Wars* the treatment of both episodes evinces a sympathetic relationship between Philip and Alexander. Alexander, 821-80, kills a wedding guest who grossly provokes him, avoids Philip's attempted retaliation and angrily avenges the repudiation of his mother by dragging the new

bride out of the hall by the hair. But, afterwards, he visits Philip's sick-bed as a friend, chastises him for his conduct and reduces him to tears. He then consoles his mother and effects a lasting reconciliation between his parents. In 913-75, Alexander avenges Philip by putting to the sword Pausanius, the would-be abductor of an innocent Queen and the murderer of Philip; and he grives bitterly for Philip's death. In this episode both Olympias, 949-51, and Philip with his words: "Þou has baldly on my bane & bremely me vengid", 969, emphasise Alexander's avenging rôle.

(4) *Alexander's visit to Amun*: in their treatment of this episode the poems differ significantly from Trevisa and from each other. In *Kyng Alisaunder*, 1511-72, Alexander discovers in the temple at Tripoli a statue in honour of Jupiter Ammon. He is told that it was erected by their former king Nectanabus, of whom they can get no news. Alexander consults the bishop about his birth and rejoices at the answer that he is Philip's son. In 1056-75 of the *Wars*, Alexander travels from Africa to the oracle of Amun, sacrifices a hart and asks the God for guidance.

As regards Alexander's arrival in Egypt, the interest of the *Wars* lies in its inclusion of the idea, first found as a literary motif in the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*,[14] that a hero-God who has vanished will return, renewed, avenge his nation's wrongs and give them victory over their enemies. After Nectanabus has fled from Egypt, 135 ff., the oracle of Serapis, which adheres closely to the Latin source, states:

> "3our king sall in a noþire kithe kast out his elde,
> And come agayn eft 3onge man 3it to his rewme.
> Þan sall þat victoure 3ow venge on 3our vile fais
> And þe province of Persee purely distruye,
> And gett agayn his avyn gronde at he forgais nowe,
> And ane of þe oddist Emperours of þe werde worthe." (184-9)

This oracle was inscribed in gold letters on the black stone statue of Nectanabus, fashioned in the likeness of a king, 190-205. It is fulfilled, 1121-36, when Alexander arrives in Egypt, welcomed as a God, and finds the statue. He acknowledges Nectanabus as his father, kisses the feet and grieves. It is generally accepted that Geoffrey of Monmouth's presentation of Arthur was influenced by Alexander-romance. In treating of his death, Geoffrey ambiguously wrote in his *Historia regum Britanniae* that the excellent King Arthur was mortally wounded and was taken to the isle of Avalon to be healed of his wounds,[15] a statement to which, in his derivative French poem, Wace added: "Ancor i est, Breton l'atandent, / Si com il dient et antandent; / De la vanra, ancor puet vivre."/[16] In La3amon's *Brut*, the first vernacular expression of Arthurian material about 1200, Arthur himself prophesies, and it is still believed, that when he has been healed: " . . . seoðe ich cumen wulle · to mine kineriche./ and wunien mid Brutten: mid muchelere wunne."/[17] The next vernacular reference to Arthur's hoped-for return is made by Malory in the fifteenth century.[18] In the stanzaic *Le Mort Arthur* and more pertinently in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, which, as W. Matthews[19] has shown, is so widely indebted to Alexanderromance, Arthur is

decisively buried in Glastonbury.[20] Only the *Wars* transmits this important motif, and the return of the victorious warrior-king is not merely prophesied, but fulfilled.

After Alexander's death in Babylon in 323 BC, Ptolemy diverted his funeral cortège to Alexandria in Egypt, where he was entombed.[21] The so-called "sarcophage d' Alexandre", discovered at Saïda in 1887-8 and shipped to Constantinople, was soon identified as that commissioned about 320 BC by King Abdelonymus of Sidon, who succeeded the deposed Persian favourite Straton in 332 BC at Alexander's command.[22] But the question[23] as to whether the sarcophagus of Nectanebo in the British Museum was ever used for Alexander, the returning king, cannot be answered; and the fate of the remains of Alexander, divine son of Amun whose name means 'hidden', is not recorded in our chronicles.

NOTES

This study is modified from my paper on Alexander-Amūn in Middle English Literature, read at the Alexander Colloquium of the London Medieval Society in 1974.

1 See T.G.H. James, *An introduction to ancient Egypt* (London, 1979), pp.78, 166.

2 D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander historiatus. A guide to medieval illustrated Alexander literature.* Warburg Institute Survey, I (London, 1963), pp.5-6 and nn.1-8. MS A, ed. W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes, I. Recensio Vetusta* (Berlin, 1926); transl. and ed. E.H. Haight, *The life of Alexander of Macedon by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York, 1955).

3 On the following material in this section, see, for the history, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI (1927), pp.152-4; R.D. Milns, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1968), pp.104-107; R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1973; reprint 1974), pp.200-18 and nn.522-4; and, for the ritual, *CAH*, VII (1928), p.18; S. Morenz, *Egyptian religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), transl. A.E. Keep (CUP, 1973), pp.36, 273, 37-8, 35, 41, 50.

4 For detail see *N & Q*, 225 (1980), 5.

5 Ed. J.R. Lumby, Rolls series, III (London, 1871), pp.393-403, 389-90, 421.

6 *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon*, ed. F.P. Magoun (Cambridge, Mass., 1929).

7 Ed. W.W. Skeat, EETS, ES, 47 (1886).

8 The original translation *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni* survives only in the derivative *Historia de Preliis*, ed. F. Pfister, *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo* (Heidelberg, 1913). On the relationship of the English poems to this and the Latin texts given in n.12 below, see G. Cary, *The medieval Alexander*, ed. D.J.A. Ross (Cambridge, 1956), pp.48, 57, 37, 253 and n.4, and G.L. Hamilton, "Studies in the sources of Gower", *JEGP*, 26 (1927), 504-16.

9 Ed. G.V. Smithers, 2 vols., EETS 227, 237 (1952, 1957).

10 *The English Works of John Gower*, vol. II, ed. G.C. Macaulay, EETS, ES, 82 (1901; reprint 1969), ll.1789-2366.

11 *The Anglo-Norman Alexander (Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie)*, ed. B. Foster and I. Short, 2 vols., *ANTS*, 29-33 (London, 1976-7).

12 *Iulii Valerii Epitome*, ed. J. Zacher (Halle, 1867) and *Juli Valerii Alexandri Polemi res gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, ed. B. Kuebler. Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana (Leipsig, 1888). I have excluded discussion of the treatment of Nectanabus, Olympias and Alexander in John Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, ed. H. Bergen (Washington, 1923), II, Book IV, ll.687-728, 2332-569, 1863-83. *The prose life of Alexander*, which shares the source of the *Wars*, is incomplete. Ed. J.S. Westlake, EETS, 143 (1913).

13 As in history. See Milns, *Alexander*, pp.27-8, 30-31, 33-4.

14 N.H. Clement, "An aspect of the world-conquest motif in literature", *MP*, 24 (1926), 129-32.

15 Ed. A. Griscom (London, 1929), p.501.

16 *La partie Arthurienne du Roman de Brut*, ed. I.D.O. Arnold and M.M. Pelan (Paris, 1962), ll.4709-11.

17 Ed. G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, vol.II, EETS, 277 (1978), ll.14281-2, 14290-2; Merlin's prophecy is also given in ll.14295-7.

18 *The Works of Thomas Malory*, ed. E. Vinaver (OUP, 1954), p.873: " . . . and men say that he shall com agayne, and he shall wynne the Holy Crosse."

19 *The tragedy of Arthur. A study of the alliterative Morte Arthure* (U. of California Press, 1960), pp.34-67.

20 *Le Mort Arthur*, ed. J.D. Bruce, EETS, 88 (1903), l.3964; *The alliterative Mort Arthure*, ed. V. Krishna (New York, 1976), ll.4328-31.

21 Milns, *Alexander*, pp.255-8, 270; E.J. Chinnock, "The burial-place of Alexander the Great at Alexandria", *Classical Review*, 7 (1893), 245-6.

22 O. *bey* Hâmdi and T. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale a Sidon* (Paris, 1892), pp.121, 316, n.1, 392, n.6; described pp.272-342. Alexander is depicted in several illustrations but in none is he the central figure. P. Green, *Alexander the Great* (London, 1971), pp.189, 224, 245, 259, conveniently includes some plates of the sarcophagus, but they are no substitute for plates XXIV-XXXVII of the Hâmdi-Reinach publication.

23 See Haight, *Life of Alexander*, p.143 and references. I have not consulted these.

"IN DIE SEPULTURE SEU TRIGINTALI": THE LATE MEDIEVAL FUNERAL AND MEMORIAL SERMON[1]

By SUSAN POWELL and ALAN J. FLETCHER

> Mych haue many of vs bestowyd vppon rych men in gold ryngys and blak gownys: mych in many tapers and torchys: mych in worldly pomp and hygh solempne ceremonyes about our funerallys/ wherof the brotle glory standeth vs here god wot in very litle stede/ but hath on the tother syde done vs great dyspleasure . . . for some hathe there of vs whyle we were in helthe/ not so mych studyed how we myght dye penytent and in good crysten plyght/ as how we myght be solempnely borne owte to beryeng/ haue gay and goodly funerallys wyth herawdys at our hersys/ and ofrynge vp oure helmettys/ settyng vp our skouchyn and cote armours on the wall though there neuer cam harneyse on our bakkys/ nor neuer auncestour of ours euer bare armis byfore. Then deuysed we some doctour to make a sermon at our masse in our monthys mynde/ and there preche to our prayse wyth some fond fantesy deuysed of our name/ and after masse/ mych festyng ryotouse and costly/ and fynally lyke madde men made men mery at our dethe/ and take our beryeng for a brydeale.[2]

It must have been at celebrations similar to those criticised here by Sir Thomas More that the sermon was preached which is the culmination of this article. Though the society pictured by More is perhaps more affluent than that of "our gode ffrende N.",[3] the sermon's aptness for preaching at a month's mind is evidence of at least limited wealth,[4] as is the fact that it is wholly a lament for the loss of earthly goods, summarised by the text, "Solum michi superest sepulcrum", in paraphrase of which the dead man is imagined to cry out:

> Of all my goodis þat I was wont to haue
> Is oonly left me but my grave.[5]

The sermon is a general one, whose forlorn subject awaits a more specific title than "N." (= *nomen*). It does not, therefore, "preche to our prayse", as More complained, though this is a necessary feature of sermons preached after the deaths of specific men, such as Sir Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon;[6] the Black Prince;[7] Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick;[8] or Walter Froucester, Abbot of Gloucester.[9] For the same reason, it does not indulge in "fond fantesy deuysed of our name", although this is indeed common

from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, so that Bishop Brunton, preaching in 1376 on the death of the Black Prince, shows his verbal ingenuity in "Edwardus, dum vixit, nos wardavit".[10] And again, John Paunteley in his sermon for Walter Froucester juggles with the text, "*Fluuius egrediebatur de loco*, Genesis 2 capitulo. Anglicus sicut, 'Water is went out of the reuer'"[11] (although he is rightly defensive of his interpretation of "water" as "Walter"[12]). Perhaps the same man, in the funeral sermon for Thomas Beauchamp, interprets the text, "Pulcritudo agri mecum est", as "Beauchampe is with me" ("ȝif ȝe wol medle Frensche with Englesch").[13]

It might seem from More's criticism that he was condemning the whole business of ritual commemoration of the dead. This is in fact far from the truth. The *Supplycacyon of Soulys* was written in defence of masses, prayers, fasting and alms for the dead and in vigorous assertion (here repudiating the recently-printed *Supplicacion of Beggers*) of the existence of purgatory, so that More's souls cry out:

> Consyder you our paynys/ and pyte them in your hartys/ and helpe vs wyth your prayours/ pylgrymagys and other almoyse dedys: & of all thyng in specyall procure vs the suffragis and blessyd oblacyon of the holy masse/ wherof no man lyuyng so well can tell the frute as we that here fele yt.[14]

The plea is just that made to his audience by the preacher of the sermon edited here:

> Right worshipfull ffrendis, it is a grete werk of pytee and mercy to helpe and comfort þem þat be bounde in bodely preson or temporall seruage. Mych more it is merytory and medefull to helpe, socour and releve þoo soules þat be bounde and peyned in þe preson of purgatory, for þei may right nought help þemself. Wherefore tho Goddis prisoners abyding in purgatory haue moste nede of helpe and socoure and comforth and sonnest may be holpe by almus dedis of merci and pitee, with precius prayers of þeire ffrendis.[15]

In late medieval religion the doctrine of purgatory assumed unprecedented importance.[16] Based as it was on an essentially pessimistic conviction of the greyness of human morality, it offered a mid-way between heaven and hell to which most souls might be consigned after death:

> There be many parfite sowles the whiche, as sone as they be passid here bodies, fleeþ vp in-to heuene, and there be som that ben vtterly euel, and they go downe in-to helle, and there be som in the mene be-twyx there two wayes, and for hem is siche commendacion and prayers to be made.[17]

The fate of even such important figures of Church and State as the

Abbot of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick is uncertain. Of the Abbot, Paunteley hopes, "ad nostram instanciam acius, ut spero, habundanciam gratie anima illius refrigerabitur, si non dum fuerit a penis Purgatorii liberata".[18] And prayers too are due for the Earl, "ne forte sit arestatus per viam pro debito spirituali que debet pro prima quam egisset, pro peccatis suis, et sit positus in prisona Purgatorii, et non est in sua propria potestate in tam breui tempore without gret dysese reddere omne quod debet".[19]

If the fate of the good and famous was doubtful, what of the common multitude? For these, All Souls' Day was instituted, a general memorial sermon for the souls forgotten and abandoned in purgatory:[20]

> on Sowlemasse-day, holy chyrch makyth mynd, and syngyth, and redythe generaly for all þe sowles þat ben yn purgatory, havyng full beleue forto relesch hom of hor payne, othyr yn parte, othyr yn all . . . for þe lest prayer þat ys made for hom dothe hom ese.[21]

Sermons for the day frequently point out that it was first celebrated at the specific request of just one of these souls, and the *Festial* and *Speculum Sacerdotale* crowd their sermons with stories from the *Legenda Aurea* illustrating the benefit to the dead of the prayers of the living - the man who always said "De profundis" as he walked through a certain churchyard was one day saved from thieves by the grateful dead rising from their graves;[22] the priest suspended by his abbot for knowing only the Requiem Mass was reinstated at the request of the dead;[23] the soul imprisoned in a block of ice was released by the singing of thirty Masses.[24]

Not only prayers and Masses help the dead - almost every sermon, whether it be for a specific soul or for All Souls' Day, cites four sources of help, according to a decree attributed variously to Augustine or to Gregory:

> Seint Austen, þat famous doctour, in a decre, xiij^{a} q. 2^{a}, "Anime defunctorum", seith þat soules in purgatory be releced and eased of þeire peynes by iiij meanes and moste profiteth to spede þem to blisse, videlicet, "fidelium et amicorum oracio, oblacionum et elemosinarum largicio, ieiuniorum obseruacio, et, maxime, salut[ar]is hostis immolacio".[25]

"Maxime, salutaris hostis immolacio" - of the four means of help, the Mass is the most efficacious: "for alle þe prayeres þat ben don for helpe of mannes sowles, þe masse is chef and princepal sokur to alle soules".[26] But the Mass is, after all, only the supreme example of prayer, and it is the encouragement of prayer which is the primary aim of these sermons: "The fyrste dede off mercye . . . ande the moste principall is to praye for hem".[27] The two other deeds of mercy are much less important:

> As Sent Gregory seythe and stondythe in the lawe, "Quamvis ieiunium prodest mortuis, ex deuocione ieiunantis,

> elemosina plus prodest" et cetera - yff all ffastynge proffytt to the dede, yat commythe off deuocion off hym yat so ffastethe; almesdede profytt ȝyt more to hem yan bothe yise done withowten onye prayȝer; bot messe syngyne proffytt ouer all these to ye sawles in purgatorye yat been in yat peyne.[28]

In the *Festial* sermon for All Souls' Day, fasting is not even mentioned,[29] although it is specified in the *Festial*'s source, the *Legenda Aurea*,[30] and the *Speculum Sacerdotale* includes a story from that source which reports how the soul of a wicked woman who died in despair was saved by her son's fasting for seven years.[31] When the *Festial* sermon is revised later in the fifteenth century and fasting is included among the other deeds of mercy, it is only cursorily treated in comparison with the others:

> The third þing þat helpith sowles and eseth þem in peynes of purgatory it is fastyng of ffrendis for all Cristen sowles, ffor it is a custom vsed in dyvers londys and cuntreis, whan þeire frendis be passed out of þe worlde, þei shall fast, wepe and morne certeyn dayes in þe weke and in þe yere after, as it is well figured, Iudicum xj^{o}, how þe childre of Israel morned of custom after þe deth of þe doughter of Ieparte.[32]

Much more faith is placed in the power of almsdeeds, since, "as water quenchith fyre, so almes dedis quenchith þe hote ffyre þat brennyth þat be in peynes of purgatory".[33] Often the fact is illustrated by the *Legenda Aurea* story of the man who ignored his cousin's request that his horse should be sold as alms if he died in battle, and who was in consequence damned.[34] The *Festial* sermon which includes this story laments the general decline of almsgiving - "and þat is pytee, in speciall whan a man may not haue parte of his owne good þat he leveth here in his executour handis".[35] The danger involved in entrusting ones spiritual welfare to possibly false executors of one's will looms large in the materialistic mentality of the late Middle Ages.[36] In the sermon edited here, the soul is pictured crying to its executors: "'Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos, amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me'. 'Haue mercy on me, ye þat my frendis be, ffor þe hande of God hath touched me'".[37] In the same sermon, the uncertain fulfilment of one's will is illustrated by the *narratio* of children stealing from an orchard, who throw out their spoils to friends. Once apprehended, they lose everything unless those friends are willing to share with them:

> Right so in like wise of worldely worshippis þat gaddre togedir many temporall goodis in þe gardeyn of þis worlde. But in his dethe, whan he hath gaddrid frutes ynow, then commyth þe porter, þe keper of þe gardeyn, þat is Deth, or þe owner of þe gardeyn, þat is God, and taketh from þem all þat þei haue. And aftir þeire dethe it is in þe free will of þe executours and of oþer wheþir þei woll gefe hym a parte of his temporall

goodis or noo.[38]

Though false executors will not go unpunished - "they be in grete perell beforn God and dampned but if þei make a seethe",[39] the implication is clearly that one should not trust overmuch in one's descendants releasing one from the pains of purgatory. And if one's descendants do not help, there is certainly no chance of helping oneself:

> ffor as longe as þe soule and þe body bene knyt togedir, so longe may a man or a woman beyng in þis life help hymself and his soule. But whan þe soule is departed from þe body, hit may do no þing þat shuld mytigate, relese or ease þe peyn of hym or spede hym to blisse.[40]

Bearing these facts in mind, the pragmatic solution is to do all one can for one's own soul before death.

In the sermons there is little specification of the behaviour by which one may store up sufficient treasure in heaven to avoid hell, perhaps even purgatory. Most preachers are content with the vague phrase, "gode werkis":[41]

> For his [the dead man's] merytory dedis and his gode werkis þat he hath do in his life shull now stonde vnto hym to grete remedy, help and gostely comfort. And þoe gode werkis he berith with hym. But of all his temporall goodis he hath right nought with hym.[42]

The stripping of all man's worldly accretions, until all that is left him are his good deeds, is the usual metaphor by which the preacher stresses man's total dependence on those good deeds at his death.[43] One preacher attributes the germ of the idea to Chrysostom:

> Ande therffore take gode hede qwhat Crisostom seythe: Qwhen we dyen, owre ffrendys ffeylen, owre kyn weende aweye, all yat we off erthe have reseyved in erthe we it leefe, ande no man xall wee have with vs save onlye owre deedys - yff yei be gode, to ioye; yff theye bee yvell, to peyne.[44]

Often the personification of the forlorn dying man is sufficiently fully-developed as to be only a step away from its complete dramatisation in *Everyman*. In one sermon, the old man cries: "'I axe of all you: Who is he þat woll go and dye with me and bere me felyship and company? And now euery ffrende þat I haue forsaketh me and letteth me dye alone'".[45] In another, Everywoman, "Lady de Blacworth", complains:

> 'My frendys, my godes me hav forsake.
> To wyrmes mete now am I take.
> Of al the word now haf I no3th
> Bitt gode dedes that I wrogth.

> Only tho schuln abyde wit me,
> Al other thynges arn vanyte.'[46]

It has already been pointed out that the sermon edited here is built solely around this theme. It culminates in two *narrationes* which have as their moralisation the fact that one should prepare for heaven by good deeds on earth.[47] Here the good deeds are specified more directly than in other sermons, in a way which reinforces the theme of late medieval materialism, in that, in a sermon addressed to a very property-conscious audience, they amount to the giving of money to the poor and needy, on the understanding that the man who "with his handis dothe almus dedis and spendith his goodis to Goddis worship" "may fynde þem in þe kyngdam of heven after þat he be banysshed and put dovn bi deth oute of þis worde".[48]

It will be clear already that the scope of the funeral sermon is severely limited. Its aims are, first and foremost, to promote ritual acts for the dead, and in this the doctrine of purgatory so encumbered religious writing that it left little room for the encouragement of active good, as opposed to mechanical charity. But if the aims of the sermons are limited, so are the methods by which those aims are achieved. The intellectual scope of the funeral sermon is much more seriously restricted than other sermons, for there is but one driving force behind it. The medieval preacher of such a sermon can never resist playing the one certain card which always enables him to win the game - "memento mori":

> remembre þe þat þou shalt dye, þou wotis not whan, nor whedir þou shalt goo to saluacion or to dampnacion, to heven or to hell. And prynte þis wele in þy mynde, and þou shalt haue lytell cause of myrth but grete cause of hevynes, þat woll induce, meve and stirre þe to devocion to pray for þe soule of N. and all Cristen sowles . . .[49]

Where appeals for charity may fail when they are made on the grounds of pity and unselfishness, the practical reminder that one too will be in the position of these "Goddis presoners, abiding þe oure of his mercy",[50] never fails:

> Therefore knowe þou wele þiself, what þou art and what þou shal be, and whidir þou shall goo. Full sekir, þi body to þe erthe and perhappis þi soule to þe peynes of purgatory. Aray þe þen and make redy þi way þat þou may cum to þe life þat is euerlasting . . .[51]

In the *Festial* sermon for Septuagesima Sunday, of three medicines for the "sekenes of synne", the most efficacious is thought of death, which "ys a pryncypall salue to ych man þat takeþe hit to hert, to put away all maner worldes vanyte, and vayn murthe, and reuell".[52] In an elaborate allegory in the course of the funeral sermon for Thomas Beauchamp, man fighting on the battlefield of life is depicted, according to scriptural authority, clothed in leather, the skin of dead animals. "Sed forte tibi

videtur that þis ys a sengul aray for to goo to batel yn" - no, on the contrary, "videbis que nullum reperitur securius", since this leather armour is thought of death and, as Augustine says, "'Memoria mortis est defensorium sufficiens contra quecumque peccata'".[53] And, if the Biblical *exemplum* is not enough, the preacher reinforces it with one from natural life. Just as the peacock, "be he neuer so prowd of his gay fethurus, wen he loketh ouer hys fowle fet deponit caudam et obliuiscitur tocius glorie sue",[54] so man is saved from pride and other sins by thought of death. More prosaically, another sermon cites Seneca on the salutary effect of thought of death: "For as Senec seythe, noo thynge xall profytt to thee so myche to temperawnce as offte thynkenge on thye dethe."[55]

In promoting constant thought of death, the aim is, of course, to inculcate fear. It is this "timor servilis" which is to the medieval preacher the most effective means of promoting good, so debased is man's concept of man in the late Middle Ages. And fear is most effectively aroused, not by abstract discussion of death[56] (for death is, after all, comfortingly remote for most men, and may even, in a time of pain and privation, be a welcome release), but by the concrete visualisation of Death.

The importance of pictures to the medieval imagination needs no stressing. Before literacy was widespread, pictorial representation was the essential tool of the Church. For this reason images are defended as "libri laicorum"[57] and sermons stuffed full of *exempla* and *narrationes* are defended:

> But ȝet for þat mony wyttys ben lat and heuy forto leue þat þay may not here ny se, but þay be broght yn by ensampull. For þogh þe ensampull be not most commendabull, ȝet for þe more parte hit may soo lyghten his wit, þat he may þe sondyr come to beleue.[58]

In the same way, thought of death is encouraged visually by paintings of corpses and double tombs, where the recently-dead man rests in splendid but unquiet repose above his own cadaver or skeleton.[59] Sometimes the plastic image is reinforced by the written word in epitaphs of the "As I was, so are you; as I am, so will you be" variety, while in literature proper these visual representations of death are parallelled in images of the stripping of Everyman's possessions at death; descriptions of hell, purgatory and the Day of Judgment; listing of the stages of old age or corruption; narratives of death-bed scenes and warnings from the tomb; the personification of Death.[60] In the more sophisticated sermons, elaborate allegories will compare man's life to a battle where "nostri spirituales inimici, diabolus, caro, et mundus han piȝth here tentus, rerud and displaied here baners, et fortiter pugnant contra gonus [*sic*] humanum",[61] or to a ship which appears stable and unmoving - "sed non est ita".[62] Even the set-pieces, such as the originally pre-Christian invocation of transience through the "ubi sunt" *motif*, depend for their efficacy on the visual creation of the figures of the past great - Alexander, Aristotle, Richard II, Abbot Walter himself - and then the reduction of these images to food for worms:

> Auertas bene et audies que nunc rex, nunc regina moritur, nunc prins vel dux, nunc episcopus vel abbas, nunc baro et burgenses, pauper et diues transeunt ut aqua in cloacha mortis. Ha, Domine Iesu, vbi est nunc magnus Allexander et iste sapiens philosophus Aristoteles, ipsius magister; illi fortes milites Hector et Troilus qui tam viriliter pugnarunt in obsidione Troie? . . . Iesu, auctor pietatis, vbi sunt gloriosus princeps rex Richardus, comites et barones, et alii recentes milites, quos infra paucos annos hic vidimus oculis nostris qui fuerunt magis delectabiles et pulcri in oculis hominum qua aqua decurrens in riuo sane? . . . Sed si queramus propinquius nostro propositio, vbi est Walterus Froucester qui fuit hic nobiscum infra tres septimanas? . . . Mortuus est et sepultus, et nunc vermes se depascunt in suis visceribus. Et cum quales vos estis nunc, tales fuit ipse; et qualis nunc est ipse, tales vos eritis. Quia mortuus est et sic vos eritis.[63]

In presenting Death as vividly as he can, the preacher of the funeral sermon is of course aided by the presence of the dead man himself: "Gode men, as ȝe alle se, here is a myrroure to vs alle: a corse browth to þe chyrch".[64] In default of such immediacy, the image of the corpse is still invoked as a *memento mori*: "Lat þem be þi mirroure þat be dede and passed oute of þis worlde, and þere þou shall vndirstond what þou art and what þou shalt be".[65] The facts of death may be presented most vividly by that common lyric *topos*, the Signs of Death,[66] whether in intact lyrical form, as in the sermon edited here,[67] or in prose:

> Vndurstonde howe in yi dethe thyne nyen xall turne in thyne hede, yi veynes xall breste in thye bodye, ande yine herte xall be departed ff[or] soroo . . . Ande therffore yche prowde man take hede to thyse wordys yat Sent Austyne seythe off the dede man. Hys noose, he seythe, waxethe colde and hys fface pale, and noothyng is more horrible yan is a dede body. Ande therffore it is noghȝt syfferde to be aboven the erthe, bot as dedlye venom is throwen in a dyche with erthe stopped and with stones, yat it no more be seen, and therwith all toodes are norysched ande wormes, the qwyche xall cum off itselff and ete it to noghȝt."[68]

Even in the sixteenth century the style is not forgotten in Fecknam's sermon on the death of Queen Joanna of Spain:

> At whose [i.e. Death's] first entrye and breakynge into our houses, beholde howe the conscience begynneth to dreade, howe the hearte quaketh, the head stoupeth, the witte wasteth, the strengthe faileth, the visage waxeth pale, the tonge fombleth, the breath goeth away, the speche very rare and thynne, all the beautie of the body cleane tourned into a grisely and fylthye corruption: and after that the bodye is buried, it falleth into a cationlyke stenche the fleshe cleane tourned into grubbes

meate.[69]

These descriptions of the dead or dying body are closely related to the device of meditation on the actual moment of death, when the soul departs from the body. At the moment of death man will be assailed by doubt:

> ffor, as dyuerse doctours seyne, at the owre off owre dethe ffeendys xall bee theyr ande all the synnes yat wee have doon thei xall schewe tyll vs in all yat theye meye to brynge vs in dyspeyre, ande syn off dyspeyre is neuer ffor3even i[n] thys worlde ne in the todur.[70]

The arch-sin, despair, has Biblical precedent to the medieval mind in Judas, who hanged himself in disbelief of forgiveness, and is the subject of numerous sermon stories, such as that attached to the name of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who only narrowly avoided despair,[71] or that found in the *Speculum Sacerdotale* sermon for All Souls' Day, which shows a sinner succumb: "But or the preste come deuelles were come in-to hire, and þrou3 terrour and drede of whome sche dyede ne my3te no lenger a-byde."[72] In the sermons at any rate, advice for coping with this moment is, as usual, practical.[73] The resurrection of the soul is ensured by unswerving faith in the teaching of Holy Church, and by the fact that one has received the sacrament of the last rites before death:

> One is yat - qwhen he passethe owte of thys warlde with perffyte charyte anense God ande hys negh3bour with hope and stedffaste in the ffeythe and ryghȝt beleve in all the xij articulls as Holye Chyrche techethe . . . The secunde is yat man xulde vse that he departe with verre contricion ande confessyoun off his synnes . . .[74]

It was faith that saved Grosseteste:

> But þen was oure lady redy, þat ys ay redy in nede, and sayde to hym: "My seruand, say þou beleuyst as holy chyrch doþe." And he cried and sayde: "Y beleue as holy chyrch beleuyth." And þerwyth þe fendes vanechid away anon; and he 3af vp his spyryte.[75]

As for the last rites, their importance lies both in the sacrament of penance and in the swallowing of the Host. Incomplete fulfilment of the former was enough to send a soul to purgatory, as is the case of the soul who begs for the institution of All Souls' Day: "'ffor as yett I haue not done my penaunce whan I was lyvyng in erth þat answerd to myn offencis and grevous synnes þat I did in my life tyme'".[76] Conversely, the safe passage of Thomas Beauchamp's soul is more likely because he died "tamquam bonus Christianus miles, armatus cum scuto bone fidei, confessus et valde contritus pro peccatis suis".[77] On the importance of communion with God through the Eucharist, Mirk in particular is most insistent. In his burial sermon he includes a story on the possession by a devil of an unhouselled corpse as evidence that "hit is ofton sene þat

fendis han pouste to trobolon a cors þat hath not hys ful sacrament of holy chyrch."[78] In a Corpus Christi story one man is so convinced of the efficacy of the Host at the moment of death that, unable to swallow it for vomiting, he prays that it may enter his body through his side:

> And þerwyth, in sy3t of al men, þe syde opened, and þe ost glode into þe body; and þen þe syde closet a3en, hole as hit was befor, and so sone aftir he 3af þe gost vp.[79]

Death is cruel and inevitable, but there is a further irony, in that its hour is unknown and often unexpected: "'Nichil enim morte cercius, nec hora mortis incercius' . . . 'For noþing is more certeyn nor sykyr as deth, nor noþing so vnsekyr as þe oure of dethe'".[80] The uncertain hour of death may be expressed by the common literary device of the Three Ages in which man may be seized from the world.[81] In the sermon edited here, the three letters sent by Death to the king in his castle are interpreted as the three assaults made by Death on man at different stages of his life.[82] In a Latin sermon on the text, "Dies mei transierunt quasi nauis", the ship represents man's life, in which Youth sits at the forecastle, Middle Age at the topcastle, Old Age at the hindcastle.[83] Though these are the traditional divisions, one sermon gives a variant of this in the deaths of young men, children and old men, describing these deaths as "bytter ande more esye and kyndele dethe".[84] Where the threefold division is not made, the random arrival of Death is illustrated in *exempla* such as the one edited here, where the archer shoots around the target till finally he hits the bull's eye:

> By þis but is vndirstond euery man lyving. Þe archere is Deth. And þan shotith he above þe prik whan he sleeth one þat is oldere þan þou, sumtyme lower whan he sleeth yonger þan þou, sumtyme on bothe sydes of þe butte whan he sleeth þi broþer, þi suster, wife or childe or eny of þi kyn. And so longe he shoteth, þe atte last he hittith þe prik whan he sleeth þe.[85]

A further uncertainty surrounds the death of medieval man - whether his soul is destined for heaven, hell, or, most likely, purgatory.[86] The sermons deal little with heaven, since their aim is fear of punishment rather than hope of reward.[87] The description of hell is conventional:

> all the wyttys off man schulde soroo ande be afferde off the horrible sygh3tys off the duellys ande nogh3t xall be herde bott soroynge and weylynge and gneystynge off tethe, and yer xall be man in all hys v wyttys. Yer been markenes ande myche stynke, stronge colde and heet, hunger and schryste [*sic*], tempestes and stormes, and theye be ffedde with dragons gall ande drynke venom with moo peynes ande sorows than all thys world can tell . . .[88]

Purgatory is no better, save that its torments are at least finite:

> The ffyre off purgatorye ouerpassethe kyndelye thys ffyre here withowte comparyschoun in hete more yan yis ffyre ouerpassethe in kyndelye hete the hete off the sun. Mervel no man yff it so schulde be yat the same fyre is theyr as it is in hell withowten anye dyfference withe syche odyr peynes, owte-take yis, yat in hell is noone hope off dylyverawnce and yei yat been in purgatorye arne comfforted bye [hope].[89]

In comparison, the Day of Judgment is remote and indeed to be desired, promising the end of purgatory and the translation of purged souls to heaven. It is therefore rarely treated in these sermons, where much more immediate horrors are available, but where it is found, again the depiction is concrete and the aim is to arouse fear of the day "quando tota terra schal tremble and quake for drede fere, et sepulcra et monimenta aperientur et mortui resurgent".[90] On that day not even the living will escape death but must die only to rise again - even Enoch and Elijah who were translated from life without suffering death "ȝytt xall yei dye and be sleyne in the eende off the worlde".[91]

In presenting death vividly to his audience, the preacher in the late Middle Ages resorts to an often naive and soon outworn personification of Death. The Protean shape of death lends itself to many comparisons - the king, the thief, the summoner - and its visual creation may be achieved by many concrete aids - the bow and arrow, the sickle, the hour-glass, the mirror.[92] Of these, Death as king and tyrant is the most powerful and constant image evoked, as in the sermon here, where Death is "a grete kynge, hardy, stronge and dredefull", who "hath regnid from Adam and yett he shall regne vnto þe worldis ende vpon all mankynde."[93] The image of Death as thief informs the whole of that sermon, the theme of which is the theft of man's earthly goods, and much of which devolves around the question, "Quis eum spoliauit?" - who has robbed him? The answer is Death:

> Deth takith away and privith a man of all his goodis and revith hym of his life which is a thinge þat is moste desyrous to euery man. Wherefore Deth may wele be called dredfull, for he haþe spoyled hym. So shall he robbe bothe þe and me and euery creature, yonge and olde.[94]

The personification is so familiar that it needs no explanation in Fecknam's description of the spoliations of Death ("at whose first entrye and breakynge into our houses")[95] or in such a sentence as: "How slely the deth schal robben ham: how apertely he schal a-teyn ham: how diversly he schal towche hem!"[96] Here, Death as thief is paired with Death as summoner or sergeant, the latter most familiar from Thomas Wimbledon's Paul's Cross sermon of 1388, where Death is imagined as the last of "þre somoners oþer seryauntis" who call man to his reckoning.[97] Both images are used in the acrostic on "mors"

in one of the Latin sermons, where each letter is interpreted as an image of the whole, Death - "m" as "myrrur", "o" as "orolage", "r" as "rubber" (i.e. robber), "s" as "sumuner".[98]

An attempt to summarise the funeral or memorial sermon of the late Middle Ages may serve as an introduction to the sermon edited here. Up until the final overthrow of Catholicism after Mary's reign, the aim of these sermons is a narrow one. Such a ritual had built up around the doctrine of purgatory that the placation of souls in purgatory had become a never-ending task which many preachers saw as sufficient end in itself. Sometimes indeed, practical charity for the living is urged as well as mechanical charity for the dead, but even so, both are urged for selfish reasons - "talis qualis vos estis . . .".[99] Where pragmatism and materialism determine the content of the sermon, the style is generally characterised by an unsubtle and concrete approach to one over-riding emotion, fear of death. This approach expresses itself in standard visual representations of aspects of death, designed originally to present death vividly and fearfully to the ordinary man, but overworked and outworn by the end of our period. Aimed at the mean of the people, neither the labouring classes nor the clergy or University men, the sermon edited here captures the essence of late medieval preaching on death. It is not without merit as a piece of literature, even if its limited intellectual aims are stereotyped in their realisation.[100] It may fairly, though perhaps negatively, be introduced by reiterating Huizinga's damning summary of the late medieval vision of death: "The desire to invent a visible image of all that appertained to death entailed the neglecting of all those aspects of it which were not suited to direct representation. Thus the cruder conceptions of death, and these only, impressed themselves continually on the minds. The macabre vision does not represent the emotions of tenderness or of consolation. The elegiac note is wanting altogether. At the bottom the macabre sentiment is self-seeking and earthly. It is hardly the absence of the departed dear ones that is deplored; it is the fear of one's own death, and this only seen as the worst of evils."[101]

NOTES

1 This article comprises a survey of the late medieval funeral and memorial sermon, together with an edition of one such sermon, "In Die Sepulture seu Trigintali", edited from MS Harley 2247 which, with its sister MS Royal 18 B XXV, represents a mid-fifteenth century revision and substantial augmentation of the earlier *Festial* of John Mirk. For further details of the collection, see A.J. Fletcher and S. Powell, "The Origins of a Fifteenth-Century Sermon Collection: MSS Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B XXV", *LSE*, n.s. 10 (1978), 74-96. A critical edition by S. Powell of the *Temporale* section of the collection exists as an unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the University of London (1980), while an edition of the Advent and Christmas sermons is in preparation for publication in the *Middle English Texts* series. For a related collection, see A.J. Fletcher, *A Critical Edition of Selected Sermons from an Unpublished Fifteenth-Century De Tempore Sermon Cycle*, unpublished Oxford B.Litt. thesis (1978).

The article is intended as a preliminary study only of the late medieval funeral and memorial sermon, a field neglected not only because such sermons are comparatively rare but also because very few indeed are available in print. It may, therefore, be of value to list here the sermons studied at first hand in the compilation of this article, as a short check-list of fifteenth-century sermons for funerals, anniversaries of deaths, or All Souls' Day. Printed texts of vernacular sermons: *Mirk's Festial*, ed. Th. Erbe, EETS, ES 96 (London, 1905), All Souls' Day sermon pp.269-71, burial sermon pp.294-97, notes on church burial pp.297-99; *Speculum Sacerdotale*, ed. E.H. Weatherly, EETS, OS 200 (London, 1936), All Saints' Day sermon (containing All Souls' Day material) pp.218-24, All Souls' Day sermon pp.224-32, explanation of the Office of the Dead pp.232-35. Printed texts of macaronic sermons: P.J. Horner, F.S.C., "John Paunteley's Sermon at the Funeral of Walter Froucester, Abbot of Gloucester (1412)", *American Benedictine Review* 28 (1977), 147-66 and "A Sermon on the Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick", *Traditio* 34 (1978), 381-401. MSS of vernacular sermons: British Library MS Harley 2247, All Souls' Day sermon (a revised version of the *Festial* All Souls' Day sermon) ff.205v-07r, sermon for a burial or a trental or an anniversary (a revised version of the *Festial* burial sermon with a new introduction) ff.207r-10r, sermon for a burial or a trental (edited here) ff.210r-13v; Cambridge University Library MS Gg.vi.16, burial sermon ff.22r-26r (also found in MSS John Rylands Library Manchester Rylands English 109, ff.6v-9r; Bodley 95, ff.107r-11r; Sidney Sussex College Cambridge 74, ff.202r-04r. MSS of Latin sermons with English tags: Bodleian Library Oxford MS Bodley 649, burial sermon ff.119v-24r; Bodleian Library Oxford MS Barlow 24, burial sermon for a man ff.206r-08r, burial sermon for a woman ff.208r-09r, burial sermon for man or woman ff.209r-10v, anniversary sermon ff.210v-12r, All Souls' Day sermon ff.212r-13v. For references to other funeral sermons and related material, see G.R Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926) and *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (second revised edition Oxford, 1961) *passim*.

2 T. More, *The supplycacyon of soulys made by syr Thomas More knyght councellour to our souerayn lorde the kynge and chauncellour of hys Duchy of Lancaster. Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars*. Quotation is from the Bodleian Library Oxford edition of 1529.

3 This quotation is from the sermon edited in this article (hereafter referred to as Sermon), ll.12-13.

4 The title of the sermon ("In Die Sepulture seu Trigintali") suggests that it may be preached either at the burial service or at the memorial service on the thirtieth day after burial (the "trental" or "month's mind"). Such a service presupposes the ability to pay.

[5] Sermon, 11.26-27.

[6] The Earl's funeral sermon was preached by Bishop Grandisson of Exeter in 1341 (see Owst, *Preaching*, p.265).

[7] *Ibid.*, pp.268 and 329.

[8] The sermon, which was preached in 1401, has been edited by Horner, "A Sermon".

[9] The sermon, which was preached in 1412, has also been edited by Horner, "John Paunteley's Sermon". In the same *genre* is the sermon preached by Bishop Sheppey of Rochester on the death of Lady Cobham, who was a personal acquaintance. Sheppey's macaronic sermons, perhaps in his own hand, are preserved in New College Oxford MS 92. Several of the sermons, including Lady Cobham's, have been edited by G. Mifsud, *John Sheppey, Bishop of Rochester, as Preacher and Collector of Sermons*, unpublished Oxford B.Litt. thesis (1953).

[10] Owst, *Preaching*, p.329.

[11] Horner, "John Paunteley's Sermon", 149, 11.3-4.

[12] *Ibid.*, 151, 11.48-64. The interpretation needs defending, not because of the "l" (which was not pronounced in "Walter"), but "quia nomen suum fuit Walterus et non aqua, id est Wateer et non Watur. Differentia est inter has vocales E et V."

[13] Horner, "A Sermon", 385-6.

[14] More, *The supplycacyon*.

[15] Sermon, 11.2-10.

[16] Its Biblical authority is tenuous, based in the Old Testament on the second Book of Maccabees xii, 39-45 and in the New Testament on inferences drawn from Matthew xii, 31 and Paul's first letter to the Corinthians iii, 11-15. The foundations of medieval teaching on purgatory were laid by Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, xxi, 13 and 24) and defined at the Councils of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1439).

[17] *Speculum Sacerdotale*, p.234, 11.22-7.

[18] Horner, "John Paunteley's Sermon", 153, 11.149-51.

[19] Horner, "A Sermon", 389.

[20] The universal observation of All Souls' Day on the 2nd November, the day after All Saints' Day, was established through the influence of Odilo of Cluny (c.962-1048), who in 998 commanded its celebration in the Benedictine houses at Cluny. This founding of the feast is briefly mentioned in the *Legenda Aurea* sermon for All Souls' Day, which served as a model for the All Souls' Day sermons in the *Festial* and the *Speculum Sacerdotale*.

[21] *Festial*, p.269, 11.6-12.

22 *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse (Dresden and Leipzig, 1846), p.733. Cf. *Festial*, p.269, l.25 - 270, l.3.

23 *Legenda Aurea*, p.733. Cf. *Festial*, p.271, ll.2-11, and *Speculum Sacerdotale*, p.225, l.34 - 226, l.6.

24 *Legenda Aurea*, p.731. Cf. *Festial*, p.271, ll.13-34, and *Speculum Sacerdotale*, p.226, ll.8-36.

25 MS Harley 2247, f.208v. Though the sermon is a revision of Mirk's burial sermon, the attribution to Augustine is not found in the *Festial* sermon, which cites only three sources of help for the dead and is entirely in the vernacular (cf. *Festial*, p.269, ll.14-16). The fourfold division is standard, cf. *Legenda Aurea*, p.732; *Speculum Sacerdotale*, p.225, ll.30-33; MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.22v; MS Barlow 24, f.206v (here the decree is attributed to Gregory the Great, who indeed ratified Augustine's teaching on the subject). See too Sermon, ll.182-5 and Note to ll.184-208.

26 *Festial*, p.296, ll.21-3. The supreme efficacy of the Mass was clearly viewed sceptically by many in the late Middle Ages. Chaucer in the *Summoner's Tale* encourages his unscrupulous friar to preach for money for Masses for the dead (*The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F.N. Robinson (London, 1957), p.94, ll.1724-32):

> "Trentals", seyde he, "deliveren fro penaunce
> Hir freendes soules, as wel olde as yonge . . .
> Delivereth out", quod he, "anon the soules!
> Ful hard it is with flesshhook or with oules
> To been yclawed, or to brenne or bake.
> Now spede yow hastily, for Cristes sake!"

Langland, too, doubts the superiority of Masses over other ways of helping the soul (*Piers Plowman*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (London, 1978), Passus VII, ll.180-81):

> . . . to trust on thise triennals - trewly, me thynketh,
> It is noght so siker for the soule, certes, as is Dowel.

Nevertheless, faith in Masses survived well into the era of the Reformation, and Thomas Cromwell, for example, left money in his will for 3,000 Masses for his soul as late as 1540. In 1555 at least two clergymen "independently revived the pre-Reformation practice of saying a trental, or series of thirty requiem masses" (A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (Fontana, London, 1967), p.21). Dickens notes (p.20) that "some Englishmen felt profound offence when the government of Edward VI forbade organised intercession for their dead parents and benefactors; they hastened spontaneously to restore the practice when the accession of Queen Mary made it safe".

The most concrete manifestation of this belief in the efficacy of Masses for the dead is, of course, the typically English institution of the chantry chapel from the second half of the fourteenth century on.

27 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.22r.

28 *Ibid.*, f.22v.

29 See *Festial*, p.269, ll.14-16.

30 *Legenda Aurea*, p.732.

31 *Speculum Sacerdotale*, p.226, l.38 - 227, l.24. Cf. *Legenda Aurea*, pp.735-6.

[32] MS Harley 2247, f.209v.

[33] *Ibid.*, f.208v.

[34] *Legenda Aurea*, p.739. Cf. *Speculum Sacerdotale*, p.227, l.25 - 228, l.7.

[35] Quotation is from the revised *Festial* sermon (MS Harley 2247, f.209r), which is here more cogent than the version edited by Erbe (cf. *Festial*, p.270, ll.16-17).

[36] On false executors and the dangers involved in trusting one's family and friends, both before and after death, see the Septuagesima Sunday sermon in MS Royal 18 B XXIII (*Middle English Sermons*, ed. W.O. Ross, EETS, OS 209 (London, 1940 for 1938), pp.83-91). The total desertion of a man by his family is especially pertinent: "But what frenshippe sheweþ þise vn-to hym? Wepon and cryon and veylon is dethe and bryngeþ hym to ys graue, and þer þei leven hym; and aftur þat þe moneth mynd is do, anon aftur þei haue forȝett hym" (p.87, l.35 - 88, l.3). See too the speech of Lazarus in the Towneley play dealing with his resurrection (*The Towneley Plays*, ed. G. England and A.W. Pollard, EETS, ES 71 (London, 1897), pp.390-2). The theme is very common and is, of course, closely connected with that of *Everyman*, the desertion of man by all but his good works (see below, p.199).

[37] Sermon, ll.213-7 and Note to ll.213-4.

[38] *Ibid.*, ll.59-66.

[39] *Ibid.*, ll.219-20.

[40] MS Harley 2247, f.208r.

[41] The origin of the phrase may be traced to Revelation xiv, 13 ("Beati mortui, qui in Domino moriuntur. Amodo iam dicit Spiritus, ut requiescant a laboribus suis: opera enim illorum sequuntur illos").

[42] Sermon, ll.19-23.

[43] John Bromyard in his *Summa Predicantium* compares the plight of the dying man leaving his mourning family to a visitor leaving a fine court - for the dying man "all that remains to him then are his deeds and short-comings" (quoted Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p.529).

[44] MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.25r.

[45] MS Harley 2247, f.208r.

[46] MS Worcester Cathedral Library F.10, f.208r (quoted Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p.530).

[47] Sermon, ll.237-83.

[48] *Ibid.*, ll.253-5. The sermon further asserts (ll.282-3) that "on peny gife in þi life profetiþ more þan many after þi dethe".

[49] MS Harley 2247, f.208r (the MS reads "a lytell cause"). The Biblical *locus classicus* for thought of death is Ecclesiasticus vii, 40 ("Memorare

nouissima tua; et in aeternum non peccabis"). In the lyrics the refrain from the Office of the Dead, "Timor mortis conturbat me", is much exploited, e.g. William Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris" (*The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. W.M. Mackenzie (London, 1932), pp.20-3).

50 MS Harley 2247, f.207r.

51 Sermon, ll.289-94.

52 *Festial*, p.64, ll.20-2.

53 Horner, "A Sermon", 387-8.

54 *Ibid.*, 388.

55 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.25r.

56 Of those sermons studied here, the one to discuss death in the most abstract and academic way is that in Cambridge University Library MS Gg.vi.16 and other MSS (see footnote 1), which includes discussions on topics such as why one should die since baptism washes away original sin (for which death is the punishment), and why men die with different degrees of suffering since all carry the same burden of original sin.

57 See Mirk's defence of images in his sermon for Corpus Christi Day (*Festial*, p.171, ll.18-29), which is based on John Beleth's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (*PL* 202, col.89), cf. "Nam ut ait Greg., quod clerico littera, id laico est pictura".

58 *Festial*, p.166, ll.2-6.

59 There are interesting discussions of such sculptural and pictorial devices as wall-paintings, double tombs and epitaphs in D. Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric* (London, 1972), Chapter 10; P. Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London, 1976), Chapter V; R. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), Chapters III and IX. The most authoritative work on double (or *transi*) tombs is K. Cohen, *The Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol* (Berkeley and London, 1973).

60 As Dickens points out (*English Reformation*, p.26), it was not until the Reformation that "emphasis in religion shifted steadily from the image to the printed word, from pictures to literary ideas".

61 Horner, "A Sermon", 387.

62 Horner, "John Pauntelely's Sermon", 150, ll.29-30.

63 *Ibid.*, 160, ll.380-98.

64 *Festial*, p.294, ll.2-3. Wynkyn de Worde's 1509 edition of the funeral sermon preached on the death of Henry VII has an engraving which shows the preacher, the Bishop of Rochester, facing his audience from the pulpit, while between them lies in state, in robe and crown, with sceptre and orb, the body of the King (reproduced Owst, *Preaching*, p.267).

65 Sermon, ll.284-6.

66 Despite the seeming inappropriateness to poetry of both subject matter and style, the Signs of Death are "the most popular of all Middle English death lyrics" (Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p.78). The *motif* is adapted to drama in Lazarus' Towneley Play speech on the horrors of the grave. The origin of the device is Job xvii, 14 ("Putredini dixi: Pater meus es, mater mea, et soror mea, vermibus").

67 *Sermon*, ll.162-73. The insertion of whole lyrics into sermons, as opposed to rhymes as mnemonic devices, is not unusual. See A.J. Fletcher, "A Death Lyric from the *Summa Predicantium*, MS. Oriel College 10", *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 24 (1977), 11-12 and "'I Sing of a Maiden': A Fifteenth-Century Sermon Reminiscence", *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 25 (1978), 107-8. Cf. too Lady de Blacworth's complaint quoted above (pp.199-200).

68 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.25r-v. Cf. the description in the *Festial* sermon for the first Sunday in Quadragesima (p.84, ll.20-30).

69 Quoted by J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1964), p.290.

70 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.24v. In *The Faerie Queene*, Despair tries to persuade the Red Cross Knight to kill himself.

71 *Festial*, p.78, ll.19-28.

72 *Speculum Sacerdotale*, p.227, ll.19-20. The *narratio* originates in the *Legenda Aurea* (pp.735-6).

73 In the *Artes Moriendi*, it is more meditative. For a typical example, see the section on dying well in the *Book of Vices and Virtues* (the section is edited by N.F. Blake, *Middle English Religious Prose* (London, 1972), pp.132-8).

74 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.24r.

75 *Festial*, p.78, ll.24-8.

76 MS Harley 2247, f.206v.

77 Horner, "A Sermon", 389.

78 *Festial*, p.295, ll.14-16.

79 *Ibid.*, p.172, ll.30-2.

80 Sermon, ll.96-103.

81 For the Three Ages convention and its elaboration as the *motif* of the Three Living and the Three Dead, see Gray, *Themes and Images*, pp.208-09; Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death*, pp.162-7; Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, pp.344-7.

82 Sermon, ll.117-57.

83 MS Bodley 649, f.12lr-v.

84 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.23v.

85 Sermon, ll.108-14.

86 In MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.24v, this is the third of three reasons to fear death: "One ffor peyne in dyynge, the secunde in departynge off etheyr ffro other [i.e. body from soul], ande the thyrde at qwhat plyte yei xall been qwhan thei been dede".

87 Though the text of the funeral sermon in MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16 and other MSS (see footnote 1) is "Mortuus viuet", the fear of mortality is a more potent force in it than confidence in resurrection.

88 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, ff.25v-6r.

89 *Ibid.*, f.22r.

90 Horner, "A Sermon", 400.

91 MS Cambridge University Library Gg.vi.16, f.23r.

92 The personification of Death in literature seems to appear first in the fourteenth century. Cf., for example, Death as warrior in Passus XX of Piers Plowman and the pursuit of Death by the three rioters in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale*. For Death the archer, see Sermon, ll.105-16; for Death as harvester, see Horner, "A Sermon", 393; for Death as time-piece and mirror, see MS Barlow 24, f.212r.

93 Sermon, ll.77-80. The same image of Death as "a myghti and a stronge tiraunt" informs the *narratio* of ll.117-57. It is grounded in texts like Romans v, 14 ("Sed regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen . . .") and Revelation vi, 8 ("Et ecce equus pallidus: et qui sedebat super eum, nomen illi Mors, et infernus sequebatur eum, et data est illi potestas super quattuor partes terrae, interficere gladio, fame, et morte, et bestiis terrae").

94 Sermon, ll.84-9. Cf. "a privee theef men clepeth Deeth" in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* (Robinson, *Chaucer's Works*, p.152, l.675) and the verses beginning "Be war, man, I come as þef" in John of Grimestone's commonplace book (quoted Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p.337).

95 See p.202 above.

96 MS Cambridge University Library Ii.iii.8, f.160v (quoted Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p.532).

97 The personification is common, cf. the lyric beginning "Ffare well, this world! I take my leve for evere. / I am arested to apere at Goddes face" (*Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1939), pp.236-7); John Waldeby's reference to Death as "God's bailiff" (quoted Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p.532); Hamlet's description of Death as "this fell sergeant" (Act V, Scene ii). For the reference in Wimbledon's sermon, see I.K. Knight, *Wimbledon's Sermon* (Pittsburgh, 1967), p.99.

98 MS Barlow 24, f.212r. The acrostic is taken from the *Fasciculus Morum* and

is cited from MS Cambridge University Library Dd.x.15, f.23r by S. Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978), pp.152-3. For examples of other acrostics in sermons, see Owst, *Preaching*, p.329.

99 This common warning uttered to the living by the dead is here used by Paunteley of Walter Froucester: "Talis qualis vos estis ipse fuit; et tales qualis ipse nunc est vos eritis" (Horner, "John Paunteley's Sermon", 153, ll.127-8).

100 This comment on the late medieval funeral sermon may fairly be applied to late medieval religion in general. In Dickens' view, "the Catholic party lost the struggle in England not simply because they temporised with Henry VIII but also because, in an age when an increasing number of men were thinking for themselves, the intellectual slackness of much late medieval religion played into the hands of Protestant critics" (*English Reformation*, p.22).

101 J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Penguin, 1955), p.151.

f.210r In Die Sepulture seu Trigintali.

"Solum michi superest sepulcrum", Iob 17.

Right worshipfull ffrendis, it is a grete werk of pytee and mercy to helpe and comfort þem þat be bounde in bodely preson or temporall seruage. Mych more it is merytory and medefull to helpe, socour and releve þoo soules þat be bounde and peyned in þe preson of purgatory, for þei may right nought help þemself. [210v] Wherefore tho Goddis prisoners abyding in purgatory haue moste nede of helpe and socoure and comforth and sonnest may be holpe by almus dedis of merci and pitee, with precius prayers of þeire ffrendis. And for þis cause I suppose we be all now cum hyddir at þis tyme to remembre and help and comfort þe soule of our gode ffrende N., whose body hath his sepulture in þis sanctuary, whose soule God hath departed from þe erthly careyn and take it vnto his mercy; that if ⌜hit⌝ be in peynfull preson of purgatory, lat vs do oure dewtye devoutely and specially to pray for þat soule and all Cristen soules, þat allmyghti Ihesu þat is mercifull, by our mediacions and meane prayers, þe raþer he woll take it vnto his infinyte mercy. For his merytory dedis and his gode werkis þat he hath do in his life shull now stonde vnto hym to grete remedy, help and gostely comfort. And þoe gode werkis he berith with hym. But of all his temporall goodis he hath right nought with hym. Wherefore he may well say with þe holy prophete Iob, "Solum michi superest sepulcrum", þat is to say:

"Of all my goodis þat I was wont to haue
Is oonly left me but my grave".

And þat ye may þe more be meved to mercy and pytee to pray for þat soule and all Cristen, ye may se at ⌜the⌝ eye what is reft hym and what is left hym.

What is reft hym?
Certis, all þat he was wont to haue.
What is left hym?
Vndirstonde it, verrey riȝt nought but his grave.
So of all his goodis he hath nought
But a lytyll place in þe erth wrought,

which is his grave. Wherefore consydre þe wrecchednes of þis vnstabill worlde.

It is necessary to gode men to remembre þat þe ioye of þis transytory lyfe is right nought worth noþer to be trusted vpon. Which worldely ioyes stande in iij: in ricches, in worshippis and in delitis.

But as for worshippis and rycches, be þou neuer so worshipfull, be þou neuer so riche, all shall be take from þe in þi dethe and right not shalt þou haue but a sengle shete and oonly þy grave, but þi gode werkis, as I seyde beforn, yf þere be eny.

It is of them þat trusten in worldis worship and rycches

as it is of wanton childre þat breke into a mannis gardeyn to gadder applis, peris, nuttis or oþer frute. Sum gone in and sum stand withoute and dare not entir þe gardeyn for betyng or rebuking. And þei þat be within cast applis and such frute as þey haue to þem þat be withoute. But atte last commyth þe owner or keper of þe gardeyn and fyndith þem þat be within breking his gardeyn. He takyth from þem all þe frute þat þei haue gaderid and leve þem not oon. Nor noon þey [211r] shall haue, but if þei woll gife þem eny þat stande withoute, and yett þat is in þeire ffre wyll whebir þei woll gefe þem parte or noo. Right so in like wise of worldely worshippis þat gaddre togedir many temporall goodis in þe gardeyn of þis worlde. But in his dethe, whan he hath gaddrid frutes ynow, then commyth þe porter, þe keper of þe gardeyn, þat is Deth, or þe owner of þe gardeyn, þat is God, and taketh from þem all þat þei haue. And aftir þeire dethe it is in þe free will of þe executours and of oþer whebir þei woll gefe hym a parte of his temporall goodis or noo.

I seid also þat þe ioye of þis worlde stondith in delytis. But take hede. He þat ioyeth and inforsith hym in delytis he shall be tormentid in peynes and his stynking careyn to wormys mete.

Than sithen our welbeloued ffrende N. seyth and compleyneth þat of all his goodis þat he was wont to haue is oonly left hym but his grave, I axe a question - "Quis eum spoliauit?" - who hath spoyled hym of all his goodis, of his ricches, of his honours and his delytis, whebir bi infortune of ffire or water or thevis? It is answerd, noþer ffire, water nor thevis, but oon þat is a grete kynge, hardy, stronge and dredefull. His name is Dethe, and he hath regnid from Adam and yett he shall regne vnto þe worldis ende vpon all mankynde. He woll no man nor woman spare, grete nore smale, tyme nor place. Ad Romanos 5°. "Audax et fortis est mors, quia nulli parcit persone magne vel parue, nec loco, nec tempore." This king Deth is dredefull, ye, noþing so dredefull. And cause whi seith þe philosophir, ffor Deth takith away and privith a man of all his goodis and revith hym of his life which is a thinge þat is moste desyrous to euery man. Wherefore Deth may wele be called dredfull, for he haþe spoyled hym. So shall he robbe bothe þe and me and euery creature, yonge and olde.

Therefore euery man make hym redy, for sodenly dredefull Dethe shall cum whan man þinkeþ lest. Ecclesiastici xj°, "Memor esto, quoniam mors non tardabit." Hereto accordyth Seint Austen, "De Spiritu et Anima", saying þus, "Nec inicium, nec finem meum scio. Nescio aut quo venio aut quo vado, sed plane scio quod mortales sumus, et quamuis volumus quamuis omnes moriemur. Nichil enim morte cercius, nec hora mortis incercius". Seint Austyn seith, "I knowe noþer my begynnyng nor my last ending, ffor I wote not from whens I cum, nor

54 within] *with* (hym *cancelled*) *in* MS.
98 my] nor my *repeated* MS.

whidir I shall go. But playnly oon þing I knowe well þat ys [211v] certeyn *and* sekir, þat all we be mortall *and* dedely, *and* whe þer we will or no we shall dy. For no þing is more certeyn nor sykyr as deth, nor no þing so vnsekyr as þe oure of dethe". Therefore be redy, for Dethe hath spoiled *and* slayne elder þan þou art *and* yonger þan þou art.

Wherefore Deth may be assembled and likenyd vnto an yonge archere or a schoter. Sumtyme he shotyth ouere þe butt, sumtyme vndir, sumtyme on þe side, *and* sumtyme he hittith þe prik with þe garlond. By þis but is vndirstond euery man lyving. Þe archere is Deth. *And* þan shotith he above þe prik whan he sleeth one þat ⌜is⌝ oldere þan þou, sumtyme lower whan he sleeth yonger þan þou, sumtyme on bothe sydes of þe butte whan he sleeth þi broþer, þi suster, wife or childe or eny of þi kyn. And so longe he shoteth, þe atte last he hittith þe prik whan he sleeth þe. For þou art vnto þe sharp arrowe of Dethe as a prik or a mark in þe butte. Trenorum 3°, "Posuit me quasi signum ad sagittam".

I rede in a story how on a tyme þere was a myghti *and* a stronge tiraunt þat longe tyme beseged a kyng in his castell where he lay. Whan þe tyraunt perceyved þe kinge wolde not yelde vp his castell to hym, he ordeynyd gunnes *and* engynes *and* dyd þem lose vnto þe castell, *and* at euery stroke of þe engynes he cast in a lettre writen to þe kyng. The first scripture *and* writing was þis:

"Kyng, be þou redy, wach *and* wake;
Or þou be ware I woll þe take".

[The secunde tyme he wrote þus:]

"Though þou be stovt, noble *and* gay,
Thou shalt yelde þe castell, yf I may".

The þird tyme he wrote þus:

"O þou kyng, aslake þi boste,
For Deth is ny to take þi goste".

Gostely bi þis [tyraunt is] vndirstond dredefull Deþe þat no man he sparith, riche, pore, yonge nor olde. This kyng in þe castell ys vndirstonde mannis soule þat is closid in þe body as a kinge in þe castell. This tyraunt Deth yevith iii sawtis to þe kyng, mannis soule. First Deth seyþ in youthe þus, "Yonge man, be þou redy, wache *and* wake; or þou be ware I woll þe take". But whan seith Deth þus? Pleynly, whan he sendith þe sikenes, by the which þou maiste vndirstond evidently *and* þink, notwithstonding in þy yowthe. [212r] Ecclesiastici 7°, "Ne impie agas *et* noli esse stultus ne moriaris in tempore non tuo". The wise man seyth, "Do þou not wikkedly, be þou no fole þat thow dye not in þat tyme þat is not thyne". As who sey: suche tyme as þou art not redy to Godward. The secunde tyme, Dethe leyth a sawte in þe myddis of þi life in thy best lyking seying þus, "Though þou be stronge *and* gaye, þou shall yelde þe castell, if I may". And þis ys whan he sendith the not oonly bodily sikenes but also tribulacions,

126 The . . . þus] *omitted* MS.
132 tyraunt is] *omitted* MS.

diseses, sclaundrys, motyng, pletyng, by which þou maiste well vndirstond that þe worlde is fals *and* disseyvable. Eccl*es*iastici xj^{o}, "Nescit homo q*uod* tempus p*rete*reat *et* mors appropinquat *et* relinquat omnia alijs *et* morietur." As who sey: man woll not knowe in his best liking þat deth ys nygh, and all that he hath he shall leve behynde hym to othir and he shall dye. The thrid tyme, Dethe leyth a sawte to the in thyne age, sending þe nowe hard tokenes seying thus, "O þou man, slake þi boste, ffor Dethe is ny to take þi goste". Whan spekith thus Dethe vnto þe? In þyn age w*ith*oute [doute], whan þ*er*e apperith in þy body tokenys *and* signes þat þou maiste well knowe þat þou art atte þe pytt*is* brynk. Þat is to sey:

Whan þi hand*is* quaketh,
Þi lippes blaketh,
Thyne hed rokkyth,
Þy nose droppith,
Þy shynnes sharpith,
Þi synewes starkith,
Þi brest pantith,
Þy breth wantyth,
Thy tethe rattlyth,
Thi þrote rotelyth.
Anon þou thenkkest þyn hert wolde brast
For þy life may not last.

Eccl*es*iastici 14, "Homo, memor esto q*uoni*am mors non tardabit."

The secunde question may not be axed of þis man þat Dethe hath þus spoyled - whereby he may þe rather helpe *and* make hym riche ageyn? It may be answerd, w*ith*oute fayle [212v] bi the speciall suffrages *and* p*re*cious prayers of Holy Chirch he may be releved, holpe and socoured *and* be restored to moo *and* gretter riches, delytes, honoures, dignitees, ffrendshippes, ioyes *and* salaces þen eu*er*e had beforn. In which suffrages be these: prayers, ffasting*is*, alm*us* and þe i*m*molac*i*on in offering of Crist*is* body, þe holy sacrament of þe awter. As Seint Austyn wryteth in a decree, xiij^{a} q. ij^{a}, "A*n*ime defunctor*um* 4^{or} mod*is* soluuntur." Doctours seyn þo soules þat lyen in purgatory þei must be holpe from peyn oþ*er* be þe way of grace or ellis by þe wey of rightwisnes. Bi þe way of grace as þus, by devout, besy and diligent prayers of rightful men. Iac*obi* 2, "Multum valet deprecac*i*o iusti assidua." And bi i*m*molac*i*on vnto God whan v*er*rey God*dis* body is offerid in þe messe. Figure of þis, Machabeo*rum* 12, de Iuda Machabeo, how þat a myghti prince called Iudas Machabeus was meved of pyte þat he sende to Ier*usa*lem xij m*illia* dragmys of syluere to offr*e* þ*er*e in messis for þe defawt*is* of þem þat were dede, where it is seid in þe text folowyng, "Sancta *et* salubris est cogitac*i*o p*ro* defunct*is* exorare vt a pecc*at*is soluantur." That is to sey, it is full holy, m*er*ytory *and* medefull to pray for þem þat be dede, þat þei may be relevid of þeir*e* synnes *and* take vnto God*dis* m*er*cy. Secunde, soules in p*ur*gatory be holpe

158 doute] *omitted* MS.

per viam iusticie, bi way of rightwisnes thus, in geving almous, Thobie 4°, "Elemosina ab omni peccato et a morte liberat", or ellis bi þe way of rightwisnes as þus, paying peyne for peyne by ffastingis, pilgrimagis and oþir grete werkis of penaunce ffor þo soules þat be in peynes, Prouerbiorum 10, "Iusticia liberauit a morte animas defunctorum." By þis ⌜wey⌝ of rightwisnes soules in purgatory be delyuered from endeles dampnacion.

The þird question is þis - who is bounde to helpe and releve oure ffrende N.? It is answerd, his executours, chosen of trust to do for hym, and oþer ffrendis þat he gafe a parte to of his goodis, to whom þe soule cryeth day and night, "Miseremini ⌜mei⌝, miseremini mei, saltem vos, amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me" -

"Haue mercy [213r] on me,
Ye þat my frendis be,
For þe hande of God hath touched me".

And þeire executours and þeire frendis helpe þeym not with his owne godes at his nede, they be in grete perell beforn God and dampned but if þei make a seethe. Nota narracio de milite in prelio interfecto supra in alia exortacione. For oure ffrende N.-

Of all þat he was wont to haue
Is left hym oonly but his grave.

For if it be axed whose be þe londis or þese houses, þis grounde, þis wife, þis childe, I shall answere: it were his, but not his now. But goo to his grave and axe: who is this? It shall be answerd and seyd: þis is his grave. And all oþer goodis and catellis he shall leve to oþer men þat he was wont to haue, and oonly left hym but his graue. Psalmo 48, "Relinquent alienis diuicias et sepulcra eorum domus illorum in eternum." These wordis ben seyde of þis man and of all oþer þat be dede - thei haue left þeire goodis and rycches to oþer men, but þe graues of þem is þeire houses into þe worldes ende. For all þeire rycches, dignytees, honouris, delites, ffrendshippis ben goodis of þe worlde and þe worlde woll kepe þem to deceyve oþer as it deceyved hym.

Wherefore þe worlde wele may be likenyd and assemblid vnto a certeyn citee, þat of custom þei wolde chese þem euery yere a new kyng þat knewe not of þeire lawes. And whan þe yere was com to an ende, þat king shuld be banysshed into straunge lande and neuer cum oute after, nor haue gode of þem, nor after to be putte to worship with them. Vpon a tyme þei chose þem a newe king and he vndirstode wele þat he shuld regne vpon þe cite but oon yere. And so by grete policie and wisdom he gaderyd togedir all þe rycches and tresoure þat he myght spare and sent all þat rycches into þat ilelande where

207 ⌜wey⌝] ⌜weys⌝ MS. 234 men] and of all oþer þat be dede þei haue left þeire goodis and rycches to oþer men repeated MS.
247 into] 'the lande of' added MS; -lande] cancelled MS.

he shuld be putte in to helpe hymself *with*all in his nede as longe as he lyved. This wise kynge þat sent before hym his rycches, good*is and* tresour into a str[au]nge londe [i]s euery wise man [þat] must remembre þat he shall dye, that *with* his hand*is* dothe almus dedis *and* spendith his good*is* to Godd*is* worship þat he may fynde þem in þe kyngdam of heven after þat he be banysshed *and* put dovn bi deth oute of þis worde. [213v]

I fynde þere was a grete lorde vpon a tyme þat had a fool. The lorde dyd make a babull *and* gafe it vnto þis fool *and* commaundid neuer to gefe his babull vnto he founde a more fool þan he was. So by þe visitacion of God, þe lorde was passing sike vnto þe dethe. His meaneall men seide oon to anoþer, "Mi lorde goeth; he may not abide". Þe fool herd þis. He toke his babull *and* went into þe chambre. He come to þe lorde *and* axed hym, "Whidir shall þou goo, lorde?" He answerd, "I wote not". "Whan shall þou cum ayene?" Þe lorde seid, "I wote not". "How longe shall þou abide þere?" "I wote not". "Now certes, I may wele sey þou art a fole if þou go þou wote not whidir, nor how shalt ffare whan þou commyst þere, nore wotist not whan þou shall cum ageyn, nor how longe tyme þou shall abide þere. Whi sendist [þou not] beforn þe caryage *with* vitayll *and* such þing*is* as were necessari vnto þe whan þou commyst þere? I holde þe a more fole þan I am. Have þou now my babull." Þe lorde vnderstode þat wisdam was in his word*is*, so forth*with* he gafe grete almous *and* gafe away *with* his hand*is* a grete parte of his goodis *and* disposid hym all to Godward *and* made an holy ende. So in like wyse eueri Cristen man, þat shall dye *and* passe oute of þis transsitory life whidir he wote not, how he shal fare þer we knowe not. We must þerefore send before us almus *and* ded*is* of merci *and* pyte into þe tresory of God, ffor almous is a grete sikernes *and* trust to all þem þat do it beforn God. Thobie 4°, "Fiducia magna erit coram Deo elimosina omnibus ffacientibus eam." For on peny gife in þi life profetiþ more þan many after þi dethe.

Lat þem be þi mirroure þat be dede *and* passed oute of þis worlde, and þere þou shall vndirstond what þou art *and* what þou shalt ⌜be⌝. For beaute, ffayrenes, wisdam, ffrendeship, ricches, delites, honours, dignytees *and* all such be take from þe in þi dethe, ffor þi body is but stynking careyn þat from þe erthe it come and to þe erth it shall turne ageyn. Therefore knowe þou wele þiself, what þou art *and* what þou shal be, *and* whidir þou shall goo. Full sekir, þi body to þe erthe *and* perhappis þi soule to þe peynes of purgatory. Aray þe þen *and* make redy þi way þat þou may cum to þe life þat is euerlasting, which graunte vs þat gracius *and* mercifull Savioure Criste Ihesu that dyed for mercy vnto man. Amen.

250 straunge] stronge MS; is] as MS. 251 þat] *omitted* MS.
269 þou not] *omitted* MS.

Narracio

I fynde þe was a grete lorde vpon a tyme þ had a fool the lorde dyd make a babull & yaue it vnto his fool & comaundid him to geue his babull vnto he fownde a more fool than he was. So by þe visitacon of god þe lorde was passing sike vnto þ dethe. His meanealle mendeden to an end. yt lorde quoth he may not abide. þe fool herd yis he toke his babull & went in to þ chamb. he come to þe lorde & axed hym whidir shalt þ goo lorde. he answerd I. wote not. whan shalt þ come a yene. þ lorde seid I. wote not. how longe shalt þ abide there. I. wote not. Thou cruell I may wele sey þ art a fole. ffor þ goo. þ wote not whidir nor how shalt thow whan þ comyst þe. more wotest not whan þ shalt come a yeyn. nor how longe tyme þ shalt abide þe whi sendist he forn þ tayyage wt victayll & such ymuch as wer necessarie vn to þ whan þ comyst þe I holde þe a more fole than I. am habe þ now my babull. þe lorde vndstode þ visdam was in his wordes. Do forth wt he yaue grete almes & yaue away wt his handes a grete yre of his goodis & disposed hym all to godward & made an holy ende. So in like wyse eu cristen man þ shall dye & passe out of yis trñsitory life. whidir he wote not. how he shal passe þ he knowe not. we must þe forsend be fore us. almes dedes of mercy & pyte in to þe tresury of god. ffor almoes a grete sikernes & trust to all men yt do it be fore god. Tobie. x. ffidencia magna erit coram deo elmosina oib; facientib; ea. ffor on penny yise in yis life yeldeth mo than many aft yi dethe. Lett yem be yi oppone þ be dede & passed out of yis worlde. And þe þ shalt vndstond what þ art & what þ shalt. ffor cheaute ffayre nes. Worsdm. frendeshyp kyndnes. delites. honours. dignytees & all such. betake from þe in yi dethe. ffor þ body is but stynkyng & vayn. þ from þe erthe it come. And to þe erth it shall turne a yeyn therfore knowe þ art dole. pisalis what þ art & what þ shal be & whidir þ shalt goo. Shalt sekr yi body to þe erthe & yhappis þ soule to þe peynes of purgatory. Pray þe pew & make redy yi way þ þ may fynde to þe lyfe þ is euerlastyng which graunte vs þat grace & mayfull fadyr & sone & holy ghost that dyed for vs on to man. Amen.

Deo gracias.

Notes to the Text

In Die Sepulture seu Trigintali] The sermon is suitable for preaching at either a burial ("in die sepulture") or a trental or month's mind ("seu trigintali"). It is perhaps more apt for the latter, since the body seems already to be buried ("whose body hath his sepulture in þis sanctuary", 1.13).

The sermon is edited from MS Harley 2247 and emendations are conjectural. Punctuation, capitalisation and word-divisions are modernised throughout. The MS's use of *ff* has been retained except where modern usage requires a capital. Suspensions and contractions have been expanded and the expanded letters italicised. ꝯ is expanded as *is*. Superscript additions are indicated by half brackets.

1-27 In that it begins and ends with the text of the sermon, and requests the audience for prayer, this opening section performs the function of the *prothema* of the more structured "University" sermon (see Ross, *Middle English Sermons*, pp.xliii-lv).

1 Solum . . . 17] Job xvii, 1. This opening sentence, from a sapiential book used extensively in the liturgy for the dead, serves as the *thema* for the sermon. Job xvii, 1 begins the first reading of the third nocturn of the Office of the Dead (see *Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Proctor and C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1879), II, col. 277).

2 Right worshipfull ffrendis] The opening tone of address is respectful and suggests a prosperous lay audience. One may contrast the more familiar formula, "Good men and women", favoured in the *Festial*, which was aimed at a largely illiterate audience.

2-7 it . . . þemself] One of the seven deeds of corporal mercy, helping those in prison, is used as an *exemplum* of the importance of helping prisoners in purgatory. A reference may be intended to one of the seven deeds of spiritual mercy, praying for the sinful. The preaching of both sets of deeds of mercy was an essential requirement of the *curatus* after the Lambeth Constitutions of 1281 and their endorsement by Archbishop Thoresby of York in 1357. (For the English translation of Thoresby's decree, which includes a section on the deeds of corporal and spiritual mercy, see Blake, *M.E. Religious Prose*, pp.73-87).

Patterns of alliteration are apparent in these opening lines ("bounde in bodely preson", "merytory and medefull", "peyned in þe preson of purgatory") and elsewhere in the sermon. Alliteration as an ornament for local effect is, of course, common in medieval sermons.

13 N.] "N." designates "Nomen", a cue for the preacher to insert at this point the name of the dead man (cf. the funeral sermons of MS Barlow 24). The use of "N." is a further indication of the adaptability of the collection for preaching requirements.

whose . . . sanctuary] This line affords no precise indication of the nature of the burial, lavish or modest, in church or outside. The word "sanctuary" is recorded in OED from the fifteenth century on, meaning either "churchyard" or, perhaps less commonly, "chancel". Mirk in his *Instructions for Parish Priests* (ed. E. Peacock, EETS, OS 31 (London, 1868), p.11, l.330) seems to differentiate "chyrche" and "seyntwary", while in his *Festial* notes on "Qui sunt sepeliendi in cimiterio", "sentuary" is used for the general enclosure of church and churchyard (ed. Erbe, pp.297-9).

19 At this point in the MS a marginal "nota bene" has been added in a hand other than the scribe's.

26-7 Couplet translation of the Latin *thema* was a common practice of medieval sermon writers (see Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, p.80). The couplet has been noted by Wenzel in "Unrecorded Middle English Verses", *Anglia* 92 (1974), 68, no.47, and again (together with other vernacular tags from the sermon) by K. Bitterling in "Signs of Death and Other Monitory Snatches from MS Harley 2247", *N & Q*, n.s. 26 (1979), 102. It is repeated at ll.72-3, 223-4 and 229-30 below.

MS Barlow 24 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford includes a funeral sermon which introduces the text from Job xvii, 1 and translates it with a similar couplet (f.207r-v):

"Of all þat I was wont to haue
To me alone ys lefte my graue".

The couplet has been printed by A.J. Fletcher ("'I Sing of a Maiden'", 108), who notes that it is also found in two other sermons in the collection. More sustained verbal connections may be discovered in the two MSS (see Notes to ll.77-83, 105-14 and 184-208), which are also connected by their dependence on the *Fasciculus Morum*. (An article on its relation to the Barlow MS is in preparation by S. Powell. For its relation to the Harley MS, see Fletcher and Powell, "Origins", 78-80, 88-90.)

28-70 This section seems to serve as an introduction to the principal three-fold discussion of the theme which is the sermon proper. The rhyming antonyms, "reft" and "left", are used in the questions asked about the dead man, "What is reft hym?" and "What is left hym?" (ll.31, 33). The answer to each question introduces one line each of the *thema* couplet - "Certis, all þat he was wont to haue" and "Vndirstonde it, verrey riȝt nought but his grave" (ll.32, 34). The summing-up in ll.35-36 involves the rhyming of "nought" and "wrought", facilitated by the postponement of the past participle "wrought". Cf. Note to ll.215-17.

The rest of the section deals with those worldly joys of which the dead man is reft, and these are treated in what may be a corruption of an original three-fold division into riches, worships and delights, the first two dealt with together (ll.43-66) and the third mentioned only cursorily (ll.67-70).

39-42 The scribe here comments in the margin: "q*uod* gaudi*um* isti*us* transitorij mu*n*di nichil valet *et* co*n*sistit i*n* tribus, sc*ilicet*, *in* diuicijs, in honori*bus et* delicijs".

48-66 This *exemplum* is the first of three portions of the text which may have been derived from the *Destructorium Viciorum* of Alexander Carpenter (see Fletcher and Powell, "Origins", 91). However, Siegfried Wenzel has pointed out to us the existence of the *exemplum* in the *Fasciculus Morum* (cf. Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.670, f.81v), and for further modification of the *Destructorium* evidence see Note to ll.105-14 below.

56 leve] The final -þ of the third person singular has probably been assimilated to the initial þ- of the following word, "þem".

69-70 he . . . mete] A verb may be missing from the second half of the co-ordinate clause ("his . . . mete"), although it is possible that the referent of "shall be tormentid" is "his stynking careyn", as well as "he".

71-174 This is the first division of a three-fold division of the main body of the sermon. It is unusual, however, that there is no indication at this point that the sermon is to be divided in this way, and the text is perhaps corrupt (see Note to ll.175-208). Certainly, the second and third divisions seem to presuppose such an initial explanation ("The secunde question", l.175; "The þird question", l.209).

Alongside the first question ("Quis eum spoliauit?", ll.73-4) the scribe has noted in the margin, "*prima* questio quis istum mortuum spoliauit". The question is answered by a description of Death through Biblical and patristic quotation, an *exemplum* and a *narratio*.

77-83 oon . . . dredefull] This passage is very close to part of one of the Latin funeral sermons in MS Barlow 24, f.212r: "Et merito est mors terribilis, cum sit rex magnus et fortis qui regnat ab Adam super totum genus humanum, sicut dicit Apostolus, Romanos 5. Iste rex terribilis est quia nulli parcet, ymmo, nec filio Dei". It seems that in translating this passage from Latin into English, it was assumed that the Biblical reference referred to the following, rather than the preceding, quotation. The Harley MS therefore cites the second sentence ("Iste . . . Dei") in the original Latin, while translating into English the actual quotation from Paul's letter to the Romans v, 14. Moreover, later re-arrangement of the text, involving the insertion of "He . . . place" (ll.80-1), has meant the separation of the Biblical reference (l.81) from the text to which it refers ("His . . . mankynde", ll.78-80).

84 cause . . . ffor] "Cause whi" is a frequent idiom in the Harley MS (cf. ff.38v, 85v, 86r, 107r, 107v, 109r, etc.). Where it occurs without a dependent verb, it seems to mean "why?", but in other cases, as here, the interpretation might be "the reason why" (see MED, *cause*). A translation of the sentence might be: "and the philosopher gives the reason why - because . . .".

92 Memor . . . tardabit] Ecclesiasticus xiv, 12.

93-103 The quotation is indeed from Augustine's *De Spiritu et*

Anima (*PL* 40, col. 800). The sentence "Nichil enim morte cercius nec hora mortis incercius" (ll.96-7) refers to two of the Three Sorrowful Things (see Note to ll.256-75). In the *Pricke of Conscience* it is variously ascribed to Bernard and Augustine (see Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, pp.531-2). It appears too in the *Meditatio* vii of Anselm (see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p.86, note 2).

105-14 This *exemplum* has been suggested as the second borrowing from the *Destructorium* (see Fletcher and Powell, "Origins", 91). It also occurs, however, in the sermon "in anniuersario cuiuscumque defuncti" in MS Barlow 24, f.211v: "Et mors non solum senes capit, sed et iuuenes, senes et fortes. Vnde est de morte sicut de sagittante ad signum qui quandoque mittit sagittam vltra signum, quandoque citra signum, et quandoque signum percutit. Sic mors quandoque senes, quandoque iuuenes, infantes et fortes in maxima prosperitate accipit".

114 þe (1)] This seems to be a survival of the Old English relative pronoun (recorded as late as c1460 in OED, *The*, particle, 3). Cf. f.123r of the same MS ("þe brennyng love and fervent charitee þe we must haue").

116 Posuit . . . sagittam] Lamentations iii, 12.

117 The scribe here notes "Narracio" in the margin.

132 Gostely] This word is often used in sermons and other devotional works to introduce an interpretation of a text which is not after the literal sense. Here its meaning may be rendered, "tropologically" (for this and other types of medieval exegesis, see H. Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation", *Speculum* 4 (1929), 282-90).

tyraunt is] The omission may be explained by *homeoteleuton* (the similar appearance of "þis" and "is").

132-57 This tropological interpretation of the three assaults of a tyrant upon a castle as the assaults of Death on the "Castle of Mansoul" is a variation on a traditional theme used in, for example, Part Seven of the *Ancrene Wisse*, and the *Castle of Perseverance*. See Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p.80. On the Three Ages of Man mirrored in the three assaults, see p.204 above.

141-2 Ne . . . tuo] Ecclesiastes vii, 18.

151-2 Nescit . . . morietur] Ecclesiasticus xi, 20.

158 doute] As at l.132 above, the omission may be explained by the fact that "withoute" and "doute" have similar endings in "oute".

162-73 This lyric in the extremely popular Signs of Death tradition has probably been taken from the *Fasciculus Morum* (cf. MS Rawlinson C.670, f.148v). This relationship was noticed independently by

Fletcher and Powell ("Origins", 90) and Wenzel (*Verses in Sermons*, pp.44, 198-9). It has been printed by Wenzel (p.199) and by Bitterling ("Signs of Death", 102). The *Fasciculus* text is printed by Wenzel (p.197) and in *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1932), p.222.

174 Homo . . . tardabit] Ecclesiasticus xiv, 12.

175-208 The confident statement, "The secunde question" (l.175), suggests that the three questions on which the sermon is based have already been mentioned. The fact that this is not the case in our extant version, together with the strange use of "not" in the same line, suggests corruption. See Note to ll.71-174 above.

The secund question to be introduced is: "whereby he may þe rather helpe and make hym riche ageyn?" (ll.176-7), and the scribe augments the text by the marginal comment "2^{a} *questio hec est per quid potest* iste *defunctus leuius* iuuari". Four ways are cited, according to a decree attributed to St Augustine, and these four ways are shown to correspond to either the way of grace (in prayers and the Mass) or the way of righteousness (in alms, fasting, etc.). The whole is illustrated by Biblical quotation.

181-2 þen . . . beforn] The omission of the pronoun in such a context is not uncommon (see T.F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax* (*Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki* 23, Helsinki, 1960), pp.138ff.).

184-208 The whole passage bears close comparison with part of the funeral sermon for a dead woman in MS Barlow 24 (f.208r); "Vnde ad hoc sepulturam huc venimus ut animam istius de pena reuelemus [*sic*] per 3^{a} que habentur in Can. 13. q. 2^{a}, 'Anime defunctorum', quod sunt oraciones et missarum celebracio, ieiunia, elemosinarum largicio. Et causa est quod anime existentes in purgatorio liberari a pena non possunt nisi per viam gracie aut viam iusticie. Per viam gracie ut per devotam oracionem et missarum celebracionem. Iacobi 2°, 'Multum valet deprecacio iusti assidua'. Per viam iusticie liberari possunt per modum redempcionis quod fit per penie implecionem et elemosinarum largicionem . . .".

The decree cited here is from Causa 13, Quaestio 2, Capitulum 22 of Gratian's *Decretum* (see *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, (Leipzig, 1879), I, p.728). For further details, see p.197 above.

186-8 The scribe glosses the passage in the margin: "doctores dicunt liberari *non possunt a penia nisi aut per viam gracie aut per viam iusticie*".

189-90 Multum . . . assidua] James v, 16.

191-7 The incident is recorded in 2 Maccabees xii, 43, and the quotation is from v.46. The doctrine of purgatory is partly grounded on this passage (see footnote 16). A later hand has noted in the margin: "nota de Iuda Machabeo".

202-3 Elemosina . . . liberat] Tobit iv, 11.

206-7 Iusticia . . . defunctorum] Proverbs x, 2.

209-83 The third question is: "Who is bounde to helpe and releve oure ffrende N.?" (ll.209-10). The scribe notes in the margin: "3ª *questio quis enim tenetur et debet eum iuuare vel relevare a miseria sua*". If a man's executors fail him, he himself no longer possesses the help of worldly goods. The importance of good works as compensation for worldly goods is then urged through two *narrationes*.

213-14 Miseremini . . . me] Job xix, 21. These words, used in the Office of the Dead, are commonly put into the mouth of the dead man, as here. One of the funeral sermons in MS Barlow 24 is entirely built around the text, each part of which ("Miseremini", "vos", "amici mei") is analysed. The quotation is used in the *prothema* to the preceding funeral sermon in the Harley MS, f.207v. In a poem on the death of Edward IV it is put into the mouth of the dead King, who begins, "Miseremini mei, ye that ben my fryndys . . ." (Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, p.159).

215-17 Haue . . . me] The Latin is translated into a sentence of rhymed prose, achieved by the postponement of "be" in "ye þat my frendis be".

220-1 The reference is to a *narratio* from the *Legenda Aurea* found in the preceding funeral sermon in the MS, f.209r (see p.198 above and footnote 34).

225-8 These lines may be compared with part of the *Destructorium Viciorum* (see Fletcher and Powell, "Origins", 92).

231-2 Relinquent . . . eternum] Psalm xlviii, 11-12.

238-55 Although this *narratio* circulated widely, a marginal note in the scribe's hand specifies its immediate source as the *Gesta Romanorum* ("In Gest*is* Roma*morum*" in scribe's hand and "Narracio" in a later hand). See F.C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum* (Helsinki, 1969), no. 2907 ("King, for a year") and H. Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum* (Berlin, 1872), p.224.

255 worde] The omission of *l* in "worlde" is amply recorded in OED (*World, sub δ*). Cf. too the quotation from MS Worcester Cathedral Library F.10 at pp.199-200 above.

256-75 This *narratio* (marked in the margin by a scribal "Narracio") may be a modified version of one in the *Fasciculus Morum* (see Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, p.44 and footnote 148). Certainly Wenzel's earlier statement ("Chaucer and the Language of Contemporary Preaching", *SP* 73 (1976), 150), that the story here is a literal rendering of the *Fasciculus* text, is not correct.

The fool's three questions are connected with the common *topos* of the Three Sorrowful Things (see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p.86). One of the funeral sermons in MS Barlow 24 introduces an English verse on the same subject (f.211v):

"Whan I thyng [*sic*] on thyngys iij,
Sory may my hert be.
One ys, þat I schall away;
The second ys, I note how sone ne what day;
The iij^{d} ys þen my moste care,
That I wote neuer heder to fare."

(For other examples of the verse, see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p.86 and Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, p.90.) The Barlow MS sermon continues with a *narratio* about Philip of France, in which the sentiments of the dying king may be compared with those of the king in the previous Harley MS *narratio* (ll.238-49): "'Karissimi, magno tempore vobiscum vixi in diuicijs, delicijs et honoribus, ampla palacia et castra fabricaui quibus, cum michi placuit, nuncios misi ad hospicium michi preparandum. Sed ista vice non habeo nuncium ad hospicium michi preparandum quia ignoro quo ibo.'" (f.211v).

281-2 Fiducia . . . eam] Tobit iv, 12.

284-95 The sermon concludes with an exhortation that the memory of the dead may prepare the living for their own dissolution.

NOTES ON THE SENTENCE OF CURSING IN MIDDLE ENGLISH; OR, A CASE FOR THE INDEX OF MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE

By O.S. PICKERING

Contributors to the Index of Middle English Prose, now in course of preparation, are asked to identify the items they catalogue and, if possible, to indicate their relationship to versions existing in other MSS - a task which the Index itself, listing all known texts of a work, will eventually make much easier. In Lambeth Palace Library MS 172, which principally contains a Latin biblical concordance and "Distinctiones siue equiuocaciones verborum sacre scripture", there is at the end an item in a fifteenth-century hand beginning "þes poyntis suynge which y schal schewe to ȝou" (ff.172r-73v). It is listed but not identified by M.R. James,[1] and is in fact a version of the "Sentence of Cursing" or "General Sentence of Excommunication", which parish priests were instructed to recite in church to their parishioners three or four times a year. The subject figures largely in canon law, in episcopal and other constitutions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in manuals for parish priests. There are a considerable number of extant Middle English texts of the Sentence (of which that in Lambeth 172 is typical in consisting of a list of offences liable to incur excommunication followed by a formal curse), but no attempt to list them all seems ever to have been made. The purpose of this paper is to classify the texts known to the present writer (over forty manuscripts are involved), and to say something about inter-relationships. Much remains to be done, not least on the subject of the Latin sources, which are here only glanced at. In particular, further work for the Index of Middle English Prose by other scholars will very likely bring more English texts to light.[2]

(1) (a) Bodleian Library, MS Douce 60
Bodleian Library, MS Douce 103

(b) British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A. II

One of the better-known versions of the Sentence is that associated with John Mirk's verse manual of c.1400, *Instructions for Parish Priests*. Two of the seven MSS of this work (Douce 60 and 103, in the same hand) incorporate a text of it after l.674, and two others show signs of knowledge of the same tradition. Partly for this reason, Gillis Kristensson, the poem's most recent editor,[3] follows Peacock's EETS edition of 1868 in printing the Sentence in this integral position and from Douce 60, although his base text is otherwise Cotton Claudius A. II, which has a related but rather different version of the Sentence, separate from the *Instructions*. The Sentence seems oddly placed in the Douce MSS, between a discussion of

Baptism and Confirmation on the one hand and Penance and Confession on the other: when F.J. Furnivall reprinted Peacock's edition in 1902 he considered its "proper place" (p.xii) to be after the *Instructions*, and he printed it in this position, from MS Cotton. In this MS, however, the Sentence (ff.123v-126r) precedes the *Instructions* and follows Mirk's other English work, the *Festial*.

Dr Kristensson is partly swayed in his decision by the arguments of Adolf Pothmann, in a dissertation of 1914,[4] that the text of the Douce MSS represents the original form of Mirk's Sentence. He is not, however, wholly convinced by Pothmann (whose rather obscure arguments he does not repeat), adding that "Despite Pothmann's competent exposition, the vexed question of which version is the original one is not conclusively settled" (p.13). His main reason for printing the Douce MSS' text as part of the poem is the presence of "the initial and concluding lines in verse", which are also found in the Cotton MS. While these do not absolutely "prove it to belong" (p.13) after l.674, and even less that Mirk himself intended the prose Sentence to be part of his poem, it does seem that the Douce text was at least the version written 'for' the *Instructions*. It is shorter and much smoother than MS Cotton's, and lacks the latter's lengthy prologue and Latin rubrics citing authorities. In particular it does not have MS Cotton's section on false tithing, and Pothmann (p.22) points out that Mirk explicitly says in the *Instructions*: "I holde hyt but an ydul þynge/To speke myche of teythynge" (ll.356-7).

Before taking the argument further, another version of the Sentence must be considered.

(2) Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 110
Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 736
British Library, MS Burney 356
British Library, MS Harley 4172
Trinity College, Oxford, MS F. 7

In all these manuscripts except Bodley 736 the Sentence forms part of a manual for parish priests in English prose that also deals with the Lord's Prayer, the articles of the faith, the commandments, the vices and virtues, the sacraments, etc.[5] Dr Kristensson mentions none of the manuscripts, but Pothmann knew of two, Burney 356 and Harley 4172, and they are central to his arguments about the manuscripts of Mirk's *Instructions*. MS Burney in fact contains two consecutive forms of the Sentence, of which the first (ff.50v-53r), printed in full by Pothmann,[6] is the one in question here: the second (ff.53r-54v) will be discussed below in section 10. The whole manuscript, which calls itself the "Flos florum", is analysed by W.A. Pantin,[7] who dates it to "the beginning of the fifteenth century". The relevant part of the Harley MS, ff.1-63, is dated 1426.[8] Its Sentence, ff.10v-15v, is virtually identical to the first one in MS Burney. The other three manuscripts also date from the fifteenth century, the text in Bodley 110 (ff.162v-166v) being especially close to Burney. Trinity College F.7 (ff.172r-176v) lacks the prologue and appears to be something of a paraphrase, while Bodley 736, where the Sentence is added at the end of

Bartholomew of Pisa's *Summa de casibus consciencie* (ff.191v-193r), also lacks the prologue.

Much of the version of the Sentence preserved in these manuscripts (hereafter called B) is shared with that of MS Cotton (as Pothmann realised was the case with MSS Burney and Harley). The prologue is the same, and the wording and the Latin rubrics run parallel for approximately two-thirds of MS Cotton's text: but it then preserves only the first part of an admonition concerning the withholding of tithes because of enmity to the clergy (Pothmann, p.53, l.14), and changes the subject to heretics.[9] It is at just this point that MS Cotton begins to agree largely with the Douce MSS' text, but the relationship is not straightforward. To attempt to explain it, it is simplest to assume what is now becoming apparent (as Pothmann realised), that MS Cotton's text is a conflation of B and Douce, and to analyse what its procedure seems to have been.

Cotton first borrows Douce's introductory verses, but changes "twies or thries in the yere" (Kristensson, p.104, l.2) to four times, in accordance with B's prologue, and adds an extra four verses listing these. It then adopts B's prologue and opening section, but after "Infringentes libertates ecclesie" (Furnivall, p.62, l.4) it inserts a short passage, not in B, which corresponds very closely to lines from near the beginning of Douce (Kristensson, p.104, ll.14-19) which there also follow the topic of infringing ecclesiastical freedoms. Cotton then returns to B until the point described above. It is significant that the subject of the interpolation from Douce just mentioned (Furnivall, p.62, ll.4-10) is also the withholding of tithes for reasons of enmity - virtually Douce's only reference to tithing - and it is likely that Cotton finally departs from B because the writer realised that he was about to repeat a subject he had already dealt with. Cotton now picks up Douce at a point only a few lines after its previous borrowing. It had covered the intervening topics of church-burning and robbery while copying B, but heretics is a new subject that B deals with only after Cotton's divergence (Pothmann, p.55, l.4). And Cotton then carries on in the same way for the remainder of its list of offences: it selects from Douce, taking over virtually the same wording, those items that were not treated when it was following B, and leaves out those that were. So, for example, it takes over unlawful coining of money (Kristensson, p.105, ll.30-31; Furnivall, p.65, ll.28-9), not mentioned by B, but not the counterfeiting of papal seals (Kristensson, p.105, ll.29-30; Pothmann, p.50, ll.13-16). Cotton has no more Latin rubrics after it diverges from B. Its text is now shorter than the corresponding part of Douce, and only once does it have an item not found there: "Also alle þat turneth fro crystendome to ethennesse" (Furnivall, p.66, ll.18-19).[10] After the list of offences it keeps very close to Douce during the lengthy formal curse and the concluding verses. Altogether there is no doubt that Pothmann is correct in believing Douce to have been a source of Cotton.

After Cotton's divergence, B continues in the same style as before for the rest of its length (Pothmann, pp.53-6), the cited authorities continuing to be the later books of canon law[11] and the constitutions of Archbishop John Stratford (1342).[12] The text ends,

however, without a final curse such as we find in most other versions of the Sentence.

B is also drawn upon by the 'mixed' versions of the Sentence in MSS Rawlinson B. 408, Bodley 123, and Harley 2383, for which see sections 14-16 below. It is also closely related to the Lambeth version to be discussed next.

(3) Lambeth Palace Library, MS 172

The Lambeth Sentence, referred to at the start of this paper, is found in no other MS, but it is clearly related to B. Its prologue appears to be a condensed and altered version of B's and apparent condensation of B is also a feature of its list of offences. There are over seventy of these, generally succinctly expressed, and it often seems that B's wording is being summarized. There are no Latin rubrics. The exception to Lambeth's terse entries is a long passage on tithing, shared with B (and Cotton), in which everything that should be tithed is enumerated in detail according to an ordinance of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury (the only time that Lambeth names an authority).[13] The wording and arrangement of this passage are not, however, the same as in B, and the listed offences in general are arranged very differently in the two versions. Lambeth differs at once by beginning with heresy, a subject which B mentions only in passing in connection with witchcraft and necromancy (Pothmann, p.55, 1.4). Lambeth's next fourteen items follow the opening of B fairly closely, but thereafter there is considerable divergence. At times the two versions are remarkably close, but the relationship is intermittent and disordered, and there are items in each not represented in the other. Lambeth's final seven items, however, correspond well to the last section of B (Pothmann, pp.55-6), before a short formal curse brings the Sentence to an end.

(4) Eton College Library, MS 98
Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. H. Chichele, II
Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 148
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, MS 55
Sotheby's sale, 4 April 1939, lot 295
Sotheby's sale, 4-5 July 1955, lot 877

When ecclesiastical legislators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries promulgated sentences of excommunication, they naturally did so in Latin. The constitutions of Archbishop Stratford and an ordinance of Archbishop Boniface have already been mentioned. Other influential provincial formulations include those of Archbishop Stephen Langton at the Council of Oxford of 1222, and of Archbishop John Peckham at the Council of Reading of 1279 and the Council of Lambeth of 1281.[14] The 1222 and 1279 canons were included by William Lyndwood in his codification of English church law, the *Provinciale*,[15] written c.1432-3 at the request of Archbishop Henry Chichele. E.F. Jacob notes that "In 1431 Chichele and his brethren had been told that in a number of places the incumbents 'did not dare nor were permitted to pronounce the general sentence of excommunication in their churches' ",[16] and in response to this Chichele issued a form of Sentence in English at the Council of London of October 1434 - the

first English prelate to do so, although earlier legislators had instructed that the Sentence be expounded "in lingua materna" or "in anglico".[17] Chichele's English Sentence is preserved in his official Register at Lambeth (vol.II, f.100v),[18] and slightly divergent texts are found in Salisbury Cathedral MS 148 of c.1445 (ff.19v-20v)[19] and and in the fifteenth-century MSS Eton College 98 (ff.331v-332r)[20] and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 55 (ff.52v-54r).[21] Wordsworth (p.44) believed Chichele's Sentence to be based on that of the Council of Oxford of 1222, but it is closer to Archbishop Peckham's of 1279, which added to the 1222 canons certain resolutions of the Council of the papal legate Ottobuono in 1268.[22] The greater part of Chichele's Sentence closely follows Peckham's sequence of subjects, in contrast to the eclectic nature of the Sentences discussed in sections 1-3 above.

(5) Sarum Manual (printed editions)

Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 750
Bodleian Library, MS e. Mus. 212
British Library, Addit. MS 33784
British Library, MS Harley 335
British Library, MS Harley 2399
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 142
Society of Antiquaries Library, MS 687
Trinity College, Oxford, MS E. 86

Salisbury Cathedral MS 148 is a Sarum Processional, and so this diocese seems soon to have adopted Chichele's English Sentence for its official use. However, the printed Sarum Manuals of the early sixteenth century contain a much longer English Sentence which is unrelated to it. This form, headed "Articuli generales maioris excommunicationis", occurs in the 1498 Paris edition and in most subsequent editions up to c.1530, after which it was banned by the reformers.[23] Its length, discursiveness, and comprehensiveness set it apart from most other Middle English versions. It is more than a list of offences, rather a sermon or treatise, frequently citing and expounding canon law. Despite the length of his text, the writer explicitly leaves out "many other" offences, and for the thirty-five points of Magna Carta and the fifteen points of the Charter of the Forest he refers his readers to the *Pars Oculi*, part of William of Pagula's *Oculus Sacerdotis*. This Latin manual was written in the 1320's by a penitentiary of the Salisbury diocese,[24] and the Sarum Manual as a whole seems to have been influenced by it.[25] It has a great deal to say about excommunication, not only in the *Pars Oculi*, which is on confession, but also in the *Dextera Pars*, which is concerned with pastoral teaching, and it may possibly have been an important source for the Sarum version of the Sentence.[26]

Texts of the Sarum Sentence have been reprinted in modern times from the 1510 (Rouen), 1523 (Antwerp), and 1530 (Paris) editions of the Manual,[27] and there is very little verbal difference between them. The surviving fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Manual, often fragmentary, do not seem to contain the Sentence,[28] and it is possible that it was a relatively late accretion to the book. The text occurs independently in a considerable number of

non-liturigcal manuscripts, and it may originally have had a separate existence.

Of the eight manuscripts listed above, five appear to have (or to have had) a text close to the printed version. BL Addit. 33784 is a *Gesta Romanorum* manuscript, in which the Sentence occurs at the end (ff.162r-70r) in a hand of the earlier fifteenth century. Its one divergence is to expand the item on false weights and measures by adding a reference to the auncel weight, which was apparently a special concern of Chichele's (Wordsworth p.46 and p.253, n.2). Bodleian e. Mus. 212 is a fifteenth-century pamphlet containing only the Sentence. Ashmole 750, also fifteenth-century, is a miscellany that has the Sentence on ff.15r-22v. Corpus Christi 142, of the mid-fifteenth century, principally contains Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesu Christ*: the Sentence occurs at the end, on ff.121r-126r. Harley 2399 is a miscellany of originally unrelated pieces now bound together. Its Sentence (ff.65r-68v) is in a hand of perhaps the end of the fourteenth century, but it is fragmentary. Comparison with the printed Manual shows that a single leaf must have been lost after each of ff.65, 67, and 68, and two leaves after f.66.[29]

The other three manuscripts contain partial texts of the Sarum Sentence. Society of Antiquaries 687 is a fifteenth-century miscellany containing among other things the *Prick of Conscience* and *Piers Plowman*.[30] An abridged version of the Sentence is written informally, without rubrics, on pp.552-8. There are several small omissions and some larger ones,[31] the second of which is replaced by a shorter passage (p.556). At the end there is a short addition on surrendering stolen goods. There is no final curse, but the text does not seem to be physically imperfect. Harley 335 is mainly a fifteenth-century collection of Latin constitutions in which the Sentence occurs as an independent item (ff.21r-24v) in a textura hand. It is carefully written, with rubrics, but the text is again abridged.[32] Trinity College E.86 has first a non-Sarum Sentence (see section 10 below), and then on ff.48v-49v, standing alone after intervening matter, the Sarum Manual's final curse (Wordsworth p.254), to which is added a short passage comparing the effect of the curse to the extinguishing of the candle.

Six other manuscripts not listed above are also to be associated with the Sarum group. The Sentence in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 248 is principally a Sarum text, but as it also draws on another version not yet described it will be discussed later in section 13. The mixed texts in Dulwich College 22, Durham University Cosin V.IV.2, Rawlinson B.408, Bodley 123, and Harley 2383 also make use of the Sarum Sentence (see, respectively, sections 7, 12, 14, 15, and 16).

(6) Salisbury Cathedral Library, MS 103

Another work with probable Salisbury connections is the long hortatory treatise, *Jacob's Well*. It survives in a single MS, Salisbury Cathedral 103, and is dated c.1445.[33] The work is divided into ninety-five chapters which seem to have been intended for delivery as daily

sermons. The opening section deals with the need to cleanse man's body of sin, and the streams of sin entering the pit of the body are identified with the articles of the great curse, to which the homilist pays remarkably close attention. Chapters 3-5 are in fact an undisguised Sentence of the same kind as those described elsewhere in this paper, only broken up into three sections no doubt for fear of tiring the audience: "þis day, for lesse taryng", writes the author at the end of chapter 4, "I schal schewe 3ou no more of þise artycles of cursyng, tyl anoþer day" (Brandeis, p.30), and the hard matter is alleviated with short exempla such as occur throughout the work. The subject-matter of the tripartite Sentence is generally familiar. There is a formal curse at beginning and end, and a long and detailed list of offences, citing many authorities from canon law and English councils and constitutions. Even after three chapters the author has not finished. Chapters 6-8 go on to develop two particular articles of the curse, false tithing and marrying within the prohibited degrees, and Chapter 9 is a complete "Recapitulacio compendiosa articulorum sentencie excommunicacionis" (Brandeis, pp.55-63). This is now a formal, unified Sentence, uninterrupted by asides and references to authorities. The material of Chapters 3-5 is gone over again, in a more concentrated form and differently arranged, but with the same phrases often repeated.

An extract from *Jacob's Well* forms part of the next Sentence to be considered.

(7) Dulwich College MS 22

Dulwich 22 is a miscellaneous volume written at different times.[34] It contains only a fragment of a Sentence, interpolated on f.28r-v in a late fifteenth-century hand, but this is interestingly made up of continuous extracts from the two versions last discussed. It begins perfectly with the opening part of the Sarum Sentence's prologue (Wordsworth, p.245, ll.1-29), jumps then to a short passage further on in the same version (p.246, ll.43-4), and then switches without any break in the text to *Jacob's Well*. It picks it up at the beginning of its list of offences in Chapter 3, and is still following it closely when it breaks off. The corresponding passage in *Jacob's Well* is Brandeis p.14, l.22 - p.15, l.22, omitting p.14, ll.23-29.

(8) York Manual (printed editions)

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. iv.19
Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. IV. 2
Harvard University Library, MS Widener 1
Society of Antiquaries Library, MS 285
York Minster Library MS XVI. M. 4

Like the Sarum Manual, the York Manual contains a version of the Sentence of Cursing, in this case one which is related to other versions. The York Manual was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509, and it is this edition which was reprinted by W.G. Henderson in 1875:[35] the Sentence, headed "De Anathemate", is on pp.119-22. Henderson refers to three manuscripts of the Manual as containing

the Sentence, namely Sir John Lawson's MS (now Widener 1) of the early fifteenth century (ff.101v-104v);[36] York Minster Library XVI. M. 4, also of the early fifteenth century (pp.166-72); and CUL Ee. iv. 19, dated fourteenth century by the CUL catalogue of manuscripts (ff.85v-89r). There are also texts in Cosin V. IV. 2, ff.128v-131r (for which see section 12 below), and Society of Antiquaries 285 of the fifteenth century (ff.5v-8v).[37] The printed edition and these five manuscripts appear to preserve practically the same text of the Sentence.[38] Unlike those of the Sarum version, all but one of these manuscripts (MS Cosin) are themselves Manuals, the Society of Antiquaries MS being very fragmentary. In comparison with some of the forms of Sentence described above, the York Manual's is a plain text, comprising a simple list of some fifty of the usual offences. No authorities are cited, and the formal curse at the end is given in Latin. The text is of particular interest for its relationship with other versions, for which see sections 9-11 below.

(9) Quattuor Sermones (printed)
Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A.381

Caxton printed "The Generalle Sentence" (and "The Bedes on the Sunday") at the end of his editions of the *Quattuor Sermones* (*QS*), the first of which, assigned to 1483-84, has recently been edited by N.F. Blake.[39] The Sentence was regarded as an integral part of the book, and appeared in editions of *QS* by other printers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[40] There is no known manuscript of *QS* either with or without the Sentence and the Bedes, but it is unlikely that Caxton was responsible for its printed form or for bringing the texts together. *QS* itself is a manual of religious instruction, apparently based on the *Lay Folks' Catechism* (1357) but conflated with material from other works of a similar type.[41] The "Generalle Sentence", however, is found in an identical form (save for a few omissions) in the fifteenth-century MS Rawlinson A.381, ff.1v-2v,[42] alongside "material similar to the main part of *QS*", as Blake notes (p.16): in fact a "Libellus de Doctrina Simplicium" (ff.3r-6v).[43] It is also interesting that this manuscript principally contains Mirk's *Festial*, for it was noted earlier that the Sentence in Cotton Claudius A. II follows a text of the *Festial*. In this connection Dr Susan Powell points out to me that Professor Blake's statement (p.13) that there is no manuscript evidence that *QS* and the *Festial* were associated "before the rise of printing" needs some qualification, especially if *QS* is understood as including the "Generalle Sentence". (Printers after Caxton, although not Caxton himself, sometimes issued *QS* and the *Festial* jointly.)

The Rawlinson/*QS* Sentence (R) begins with an explanatory prologue, proceeds to a typical list of excommunicable offences, and concludes with a formal curse in Latin. In this last particular it resembles the York Manual's Sentence, but the curses are not the same and the Manual version has no prologue. The lists of offences, however, are in large part parallel. R lacks the Manual's three paragraphs on wrong tithing and that on sacrilege from near the beginning of its list (Henderson, p.119), and, later, those on abandoning children and on arson (p.121). R in turn has occasional sentences not in the *Manual* (Blake, p.82, ll.8-10; p.83, ll.10-12;

p.84, ll.14-15, the first in place of the section on tithing); transfers its indictment of witches to later in the Sentence (Blake, p.84, ll.33-4; Henderson, p.120); and transposes two other paragraphs (p.83, ll.31-5; Henderson, p.121). In place of a reference to the province of York it has Canterbury (p.84, l.23; Henderson, p.121). Otherwise the texts are virtually identical until the end of the Manual's list of offences.[44] Then, instead of the latter's final English paragraph on when the Sentence should be published in church, R ends its own list of offences with, after all, wrong tithing. The sequence of ideas corresponds to that in the Manual's earlier treatment of this subject, but the wording is now not the same. R, for example, gives a detailed list of what should be tithed (Blake, p.85, ll.10-17) similar to that found in some other versions of the Sentence.

On textual grounds it is not a simple matter to say which of these two Sentences is the source of the other. Given, however, that the main part of Caxton's *QS* is based on the *Lay-Folks' Catechism*, which was written in York, the natural presumption is that his "Generalle Sentence" is in its turn derived from the York Manual. This would seem to be additional evidence for the constituent parts of *QS* having been associated in manuscript form before Caxton came to print them.

(10) British Library, MS Arundel 130
British Library, MS Burney 356
Trinity College, Oxford, MS E. 86

The relationship of the York Manual Sentence and R is complicated by another version which textually appears to stand mid-way between them, and which incidentally reveals corruptions in R. The three manuscripts of the group do not, however, preserve identical texts.[45] Trinity College E. 86 is a priest's instructional miscellany of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its Sentence (ff.44r-47r) resembles R in not having the Manual's paragraphs on tithing, on abandoning children, and on arson, in referring to Canterbury instead of York, and in having an additional short item on heresy (which R corrupts unrecognisably);[46] but it begins like the Manual, and agrees with it in including sacrilege, in its positioning of the item on witches, in the order of the two paragraphs that R transposes, and in ending its list of offences at the same point. It concludes with a short curse in English not found in either of the other versions. Arundel 130 is principally a Sarum Breviary made in the mid-fifteenth century for Henry Percy, third Earl of Northumberland. The Sentence occurs on the last leaf of the book, f.118r, and is fragmentary, though in apparently the same hand as the preceding text. It begins midway through the Manual/R Sentence (at Blake, p.83, ll.2-3), and thereafter exhibits the same features as MS Trinity in respect of R and the Manual. However, it omits the longer reference to heresy (Blake, p.84, ll.34-37), as well as the item on money-clippers (p.83, ll.36-38), and it ends abruptly without a curse. Burney 356 ff.53r-54v is the second consecutive Sentence in this MS (see section 2 above). It has its own distinctive features in beginning with an introductory curse found nowhere else, and in inserting a paragraph on simony (f.54v). In addition

its final curse soon diverges from that in MS Trinity, and becomes longer and more dramatic. Otherwise it matches Trinity (it has the additional item on heresy), except that sometimes it is textually closer to the Manual: in particular it includes a version of the latter's item on abandoning children.

(11) Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 229
National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 18.3.6

The texts of the Sentence in these manuscripts are not completely identical (each has some material not in the other), but they clearly preserve the same version within the York 'complex'. MS Advocates 18.3.6, seemingly of the end of the fourteenth century, principally contains the *Oculus Sacerdotis*. The Sentence occurs on ff.3v-4v after a table of contents for the *Oculus* and before tables for calculating liturgical dates. In Lincoln 229, an otherwise Latin miscellany of perhaps the end of the fourteenth century, the Sentence occurs on ff.124v-126v. Both texts have a short formal curse before the list of offences (in Lincoln this curse and the first offence are in Latin), and a longer one at the end.[47] The latter is in English, unlike in the York Manual, but the two versions otherwise agree fairly closely in content and arrangement. Some of the Manual's categories are, however, transposed or amalgamated in the Advocates and Lincoln manuscripts, and others are omitted, including the last half dozen. They in turn have several items not in the Manual, including secular officers that unjustly extort money from the common people, and (in MS Advocates only) eavesdroppers, a subject that also occurs in the Douce/Cotton Sentence. Wrong tithing, positioned in the same place as in the Manual, is interestingly worded quite differently, and here the Advocates and Lincoln manuscripts also diverge textually. These two manuscripts naturally often run parallel to the R Sentence as well as the Manual's, but there is no doubt that this is because these two versions have much of the latter in common.

The remaining versions of the Sentence known to me will be described more briefly. There are first (sections 12-16) some additional mixed texts that make use of one or more of the versions analysed above.

(12) Durham University Library, MS Cosin V. IV. 2

MS Cosin, which was written by "Thomas Olyphant cappellanus" in 1477, first has the York Manual Sentence on ff.128v-131r (see section 8 above). This is followed on f.131v by a lengthy and outspoken curse of excommunication which does not seem to be taken from any of the texts discussed elsewhere in this paper, and then on ff.131v-132v, as a separate paragraph, by most of the Sarum version's prologue: it corresponds to Wordsworth, p.245, l.1 - p.246, l.30, and is brought to an end with "Amen". There is finally on f.133r-v what appears to be the beginning of an otherwise unrecorded Sentence. It concentrates on the terribleness of being cursed, elaborating further the idea of the curse as a sword that is also prominent in the prologues of the B and Sarum Sentences. It ends inconclusively.

(13) Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS 248

Emmanuel 248 is a fifteenth-century volume of ecclesiastical offices, in Latin, with the English Sentence on ff.41v-45v. It is basically a text of the Sarum Manual version, as was said above, but an abridged one. There are fairly consistent minor omissions, and some more considerable ones.[48] Rubrics are only occasionally retained. The text is of particular interest because of the insertion into the Sarum prologue of most of the first paragraph of that of R (ff.41v-42r; Blake, p.81, ll.9-24). There are a few other small additions, noticeably at the end, between the last of Sarum's offences and the final curse (f.45r-v). These additions include items on eavesdroppers and extortionate officials.

(14) Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B. 408

Rawlinson B. 408 is the Godstow Register manuscript, and the Sentence is the first of the "prefixed liturgical pieces".[49] Only the final portion is preserved (f.2r-v), two leaves having been cut out beforehand. What is left shows the text to be a somewhat altered version of the B Sentence (section 2 above), with other material added at the end. Page 1, l.1 - p.2, l.14 of the printed edition corresponds fairly closely to Pothmann, p.54, l.36 - p.56, l.11 (where B ends), but some items are rearranged and others expanded or omitted (Pothmann, p.55, ll.14-22, 32-40). B's rubrics are retained, and authorities continue to be cited in the same way during the additional items that follow. Of the "many oper poyntes" that are next referred to, the writer picks out blasphemy and dice-playing for individual mention (p.2, l.26 - p.3, l.12). The Sentence then ends with the Sarum version's final curse in the same form as Trinity College, Oxford, E. 86 has it, i.e. with the extinguishing of the candle added (see above section 5).

(15) Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 123

Bodley 123 is a miscellany mainly written c.1477-89 by Thomas Urmston, chaplain of Lyme, in Cheshire. The Sentence, ff.2r-6v, is, however, in two hands. After a reference in Latin to Archbishop Peckham's constitutions of 1279, the first of these begins with a version of the opening part of the B Sentence. The prologue is closely parallel, but the categories of offence are rearranged, some are omitted, and new material is added. The second hand takes over on f.6r, beginning with two single items but then moving at once to a formal curse. This is first in Latin, then English, the latter version being that of the Sarum Manual.

(16) British Library, MS Harley 2383

Harley 2383 is a fifteenth-century clerical miscellany in various hands, containing English sermons and much pastoral material. It has three items in English concerning excommunication, of which the third (ff.54v-56r) is a treatise on the subject. The other two are Sentences that overlap in content and require detailed examination: they appear to draw arbitrarily on a number of the Sentences described earlier. The first text covers ff.43r-45r, and ends with

a version of the Sarum Manual curse. The second, more formally written, runs from f.46r to f.54r. It begins like the Sarum version, but most of its material seems to come from the B Sentence. The textual parallels are sometimes very close and the arrangement is broadly the same, but individual items are often differently positioned. Not only does the Sarum Sentence continue to be an intermittent source, but one passage on f.49r closely corresponds to the R Sentence (Blake, p.83, ll.16-23), and another on false tithing (f.46v) resembles a passage apparently found only in MS Lincoln Cathedral 229 (f.124v, see section 11 above). The matter is complicated by the repetitive nature of the Harley Sentence: f.48v is a copy of f.47v, and f.49v of f.48r.

(17) Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 66

A version of the Sentence of Cursing not found elsewhere occurs in a northern dialect on ff.24v-26v of this fifteenth-century miscellany, the contents of which are mainly Latin. It is a long and learned text of the type represented by the B Sentence, the Sarum Manual, and *Jacob's Well*, and it frequently resembles these in content and in the many authorities cited. Its Latin source or sources may not be very different from theirs, but its order of items is wholly its own. It ends imperfectly at the bottom of f.26v.

(18) British Library, MS Harley 665

Harley 665 is a mid-fifteenth-century theological miscellany, mainly in Latin. All it has of the Sentence is a curse (even though it refers to "these forseyd evelledoers"), on the last page of the manuscript, f.301v. It has affinities with some of the more dramatic curses found elsewhere.

(19) Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 296

This important Wycliffite manuscript, dated internally to 1383, is a special case, for its "Great sentence of curs expounded" (pp.239-88) is violently opposed to the Sentence, and uses items from it as starting points for a long and fluent attack on the ecclesiastical establishment.[50] Its twenty-nine chapters expound twenty-five offences from a list which does not seem to be identifiable with, or extracted from, any of the Sentences described elsewhere in this paper. It begins with heretics and gives unusual prominence to simony, but is otherwise unexceptional.

For the present purpose I have not examined in any detail the Middle Scots versions of the Sentence, but they may be noted here for the sake of completeness. There seem to be two: that preserved in the Liber sancti Terrenani Ecclesie de Arbuthnot, of c.1491-2;[51] and that promulgated by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, in 1525, which is extant in the St Andrews Formulare and (a slightly shorter text) British Library MS Cotton Caligula B. II.[52]

NOTES

1 M.R. James and C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, II (Cambridge, 1931), p.271.

2 I have incurred numerous debts of gratitude in preparing this article: to Dr A.I. Doyle for providing me with many references to manuscripts; to Dr Ruth Morse, Dr Susan Powell, and, in particular, Mr R.F.S. Hamer for examining manuscripts for me and sending me transcripts; and to those librarians who, at short notice, answered enquiries and sent me copies of texts. In what follows I do not cite standard library catalogues of manuscripts.

3 John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, edited from MS Cotton Claudius A II and six other Manuscripts . . . by Gillis Kristensson, Lund Studies in English, 49 (Lund, 1974).

4 *Zur Textkritik von John Myrk's Pars Oculi* (Bonn, 1914). Cited as 'Pothmann'.

5 British Library Addit. MS 10053 ff.99r-114r and Cambridge University Library MS Dd. xii. 69 ff.24r-31v contain the same manual, but the Sentence is lacking in both: in the former the text breaks off before the Sentence is reached, and in the latter leaves have been torn out after f.31.

6 Pothmann, pp.49-56. The opening passage is also printed by G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p.359.

7 *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp.277-9.

8 See Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c.700-1600, in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library* (London, 1979), I, p.142.

9 *Instructions for Parish Priests*, by John Myrc, edited from Cotton MS. Claudius A. II. by Edward Peacock, EETS OS 31 (1868, revised 1902 [by F.J. Furnivall]), p.65, l.23. I cite this edition as 'Furnivall'.

10 This may of course be due to corruption in the course of transmission. There is no question of MS Cotton having been copied directly from one of the Douce MSS.

11 For excommunication in these books see especially Decret. Greg. IX, Lib. V, tit. 39; Sexti Decretal., Lib. V, tit. 11; Clementinae, Lib. V, tit. 10.

12 Printed in *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae A.D. 446-1717*, [edited by] David Wilkins (London, 1737), II, pp.696-709. For the importance of Stratford's constitutions, see Brenda Bolton, "The Council of London of 1342", in *Councils and Assemblies*, edited by G.J. Cuming and Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, 7 (London, 1971), pp.147-60.

13 Printed in *Councils & Synods, with other Documents relating to the English Church, II, A.D. 1205-1313*, edited by F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (London, 1964), II, pp.792-7.

14 *Councils & Synods*, I, pp.106-07; II, pp.848-50; and II, pp.905-07.

15 *Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliae* (Oxford, 1679), Lib. V, tit. 17, Cap. 1 and 6.

16 E.F. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele* (London, 1967), pp.66, fn.3.

17 For example, Archbishop Robert Winchelsey in 1298 (*Councils & Synods*, II, p.1195).

18 Printed in *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-1443*, edited by E.F. Jacob, III, Canterbury and York Society, 46 (Oxford, 1945), pp.257-8.

19 Printed in *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, edited . . . by C. Wordsworth (Cambridge, 1901), pp.44-6. I cite this edition as 'Wordsworth'.

20 Printed in the *Provinciale*, appendix, pp.73-4. The manuscript is described by N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, (Oxford, 1977), II, pp.711-12.

21 For the text in the Sidney Sussex manuscript, see further fn.43 below. Dr A.I. Doyle informs me that two manuscripts sold by Sotheby's respectively as Lot 295 on 4 April 1939 and Lot 877 on 4-5 July 1955 apparently also contain the Sentence "as decreed by the Council of London, 7 Oct. 1434". Another text is anticipated at the end of British Library MS Royal 11. A. I, but only the first five lines now remain.

22 *Councils & Synods*, II, pp.747-92.

23 See *Manuale ad Vsum Percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, [edited] by A. Jefferies Collins, Henry Bradshaw Society, 91 (London, 1960), pp.xxi-xxiii and 166, fn.3; Wordsworth, p.244. The latter, p.333, has a list of early editions, for which see also A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2nd edition, (London, 1976), II, p.82.

24 L.E. Boyle, "The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and some other works of William of Pagula", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth series, 5 (1955), 87-90. The whole work is unprinted.

25 *Manuale*, ed. Collins, pp.xv-xviii.

26 It is noteworthy that part of the *Dextera Pars*, including the section on excommunication, circulated as a separate tract: see Boyle, "The *Oculus Sacerdotis*", pp.89-90, *Manuale*, ed. Collins, pp.xvii-xviii, and also C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1941), pp.112, 115 and 147. The section on excommunication alone is printed in *Concilia*, ed. Wilkins, II, pp.413-15, as an appendix to Archbishop Greenfield's York constitutions of 1311.

27 Respectively in *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, [edited by] W.G. Henderson, Surtees Society, 63 (Durham, 1875), pp.86*-94*; in Wordsworth, pp.245-54; and in *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae: the Occasional Offices of the Church of England According to the Old Use of Salisbury . . .* , [edited] by William Maskell, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1882), III, pp.309-26.

28 *Manuale*, ed. Collins, pp.ix-x, has a partial list of these MSS.

29 The missing text corresponds to Wordsworth, p.246, l.25 - p.247, l.26; p.248, l.30 - p.250, l.24; p.251, l.27 - p.252, l.26; and p.253, l.37 onwards.

30 It is described by Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, (Oxford, 1969), I, p.314.

31 Wordsworth, p.247, l.52 - p.248, l.15; p.248, l.45 - p.250, l.1; p.250, ll.29-46; p.251, l.1 - p.252, l.26.

32 The omitted passages correspond to Wordsworth, p.247, ll.27-32; p.247, l.42-p.248, l.15; p.248, l.56 - p.250, l.1; p.250, ll.13-28; p.250, ll.34-47; p.251, l.1 - p.252, l.37; p.252, ll.48-51.

33 For the first half of the work see *Jacob's Well*, edited . . . by Arthur Brandeis, Part 1, EETS OS 115 (1900).

34 Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, I, p.43.

35 *Manuale*, ed. Henderson. It is unclear whether or not the other early edition to which he refers, that by Gachet at York, contains a form of the Sentence.

36 The Sentence is printed in *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, C.1432 (London: HMSO, 1876), appendix, pp.305-6.

37 Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, I, p.309.

38 It may be noted that the final item on usury which is not in the printed edition and which Henderson supplies from the York Minster MS, occurs in all the manuscripts (inserted by a later hand in MS CUL).

39 *Quattuor Sermones, printed by William Caxton*, Middle English Texts, 2 (Heidelberg, 1975). Cited as 'Blake'.

40 The Sentence from Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1532 was reprinted by John Strype in *Ecclesiastical Memorials . . . under Henry VIII*, (Oxford, 1822), I, Pt.ii, pp.188-93.

41 See Blake, pp.12-16. Trinity College Cambridge MS B.14.19 contains material very similar, but not identical, to *QS* itself.

42 The beginning of Rawlinson's text is printed in Owst, *Preaching*, p.359. Its main omissions are Blake, p.82, ll.29-35; p.84, ll.6-9, 11-14, 16-18, 21-6, 35-7, and 38 - p.85, l.5.

43 Chichele's Sentence in Sidney Sussex College MS 55 (see section 4 above) also follows English prose material similar in content to the main part of *QS*. This text in fact diverges from the standard version of Chichele's Sentence in having an addition at the end, part of which is especially close to *QS*'s Sentence (Blake, p.84, ll.26-30).

44 *QS*'s Sentence includes the final paragraph on usury (see fn.38), but it takes a somewhat different form (Blake, p.84, l.38 - p.85, l.5) and the Rawlinson MS preserves only the first few words.

[45] A fourth MS, Ashmole 750, which has a Sarum Manual Sentence on ff.15r-22v (see above, section 5), has additional items on f.25r which may also come from this version.

[46] "al tho that them meynteyne or susteyne" (Blake, p.83, l.28): MS Trinity reads "heresy" for "them". The sentence does not occur in the York Manual.

[47] The final curse in MS Advocates is printed in Owst, *Preaching*, p.359.

[48] Wordsworth, p.247, ll.27-51; p.248, ll.6-15, 21-6, 56 - p.249, l.31; p.250, ll.20-47; p.251, l.1 - p.252, l.29; p.252, ll.38-47, 52 - p.253, l.10.

[49] *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford*, edited by Andrew Clark, Part 1, EETS OS 129 (1905), pp.1-3.

[50] Printed in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited . . . by Thomas Arnold (1871), III, pp.271-337.

[51] Printed in *Liber Ecclesie beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott: Missale secundum usum Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae in Scotia*, ed. A.P. Forbes (Burntisland, 1864), pp.lxx-lxxi; *Concilia Scotiae: ecclesiae Scoticanae statuta . . .* , ed. Joseph Robertson, Bannatyne Club, 113 (Edinburgh, 1866), II, pp.6-8; *Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559 . . .* , ed. David Patrick, Publications of the Scottish History Society, 54 (Edinburgh, 1907), pp.5-7. See also Wordsworth, pp.46, 254.

[52] Printed, respectively, in *St Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546*, I, ed. Gordon Donaldson and C. Macrae, Stair Society, 7 (Edinburgh, 1942), pp.268-71; and in *State Papers of Henry VIII* (London, 1836), IV, Part 4, pp.417-19.

JOHN CLERKE'S HAND IN THE YORK REGISTER

By PETER MEREDITH

> Item payd to John Clerke for kepyng of the Register of Corpuscrysty play at the furst place accustomyd xx^{d}

The name of John Clerke is little known even to students of the York play, but he will almost certainly prove to be our most important single witness to the state of the play in the last forty years or so of its existence. This article is intended as a preliminary examination of the sources of information about John Clerke, and of his relationship with the Register. In her edition of the play,[1] Lucy Toulmin Smith recognised Clerke's main contributions to the Register but she refers to him by name once only, in a note to the Fullers' pageant:

> This piece is written in a hand of the end of the 16th century, the same which wrote the addition to the play of Cain and Abell; see after, p.37. The reason for this is found in a Chamberlain's Book of the City of York (vol. 4) under date of 1 Eliz., 1558;[2] 'Item. payd to John Clerke for entryng in the Regyster the Regynall of the pagyant pertenynge to Craft of Fullars, which was never before regestred, 12d'. (p.18)

Apart from describing a hand of 1558 as "of the end of the 16th century", this is an accurate statement of the case. Later in referring to the *Cain and Abel* addition she says more appropriately that it was written "towards the middle of the sixteenth century" (p.37), but there is no further mention of John Clerke. The only other large-scale addition to the Register by Clerke is the *Purification* pageant, entered out of place towards the end of the manuscript. Once again Miss Toulmin Smith makes no mention of John Clerke by name, and he is simply "the same hand of the middle of the 16th century which wrote the Fullers' play" (p.433). These three additions are referred to in the Introduction to her edition: "Three pieces were inserted by a hand which we are able to date at 1558 from the municipal books", (pp.xiv-xv), but once again there is no mention of Clerke by name. She points out also that the note on f.68 (her foliation) referring to the misplacing of the *Purification* is "in the same hand" (p.433), and that the opening of the Vintners' pageant (all that there is) is "in the hand of the sixteenth century" (p.xv).

Apart from these references, which can with a little difficulty

The regyment of the ffullers pagyant

dens

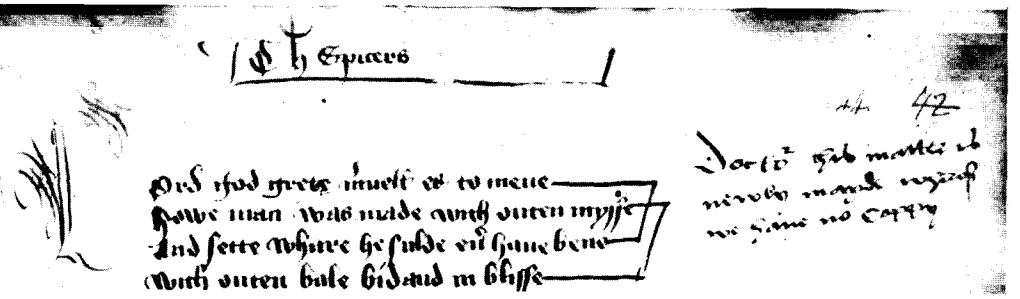
Adam and Eve this is the place
that I bidde gyffe you of my grace
To bide your wonnyng in
Erbes & treis sprynge on brede
Beastes ffeldes all that ye see
shall bowe to you mede and myn
This place hyght paradyce
Here shall your joys begynne
and yf that ye be wyse
ffrome wyes shall ye never wende
All your will here shall ye have
wtheyng for to crave or aske
ffysshe ffewle or bee
And for to take yt your owen will
all other creatour also there till
your Subjecte shall they bee
Adam of more and lesse
vnderstond in eche deele I gyffe
This place that worthy is
Kepe it in honestye
Loke that ye yemyll welterly
All other creatour shall mynistyr
vnto one in tendir wyse
Loke that ye lyffe in love and pese
Erbes and treis for nothyng lesse
So that ye may endure
To multeplye in beast and man
and fowle of ylke nature
In dred God yf that ye wande
This shall be your endure

Adam

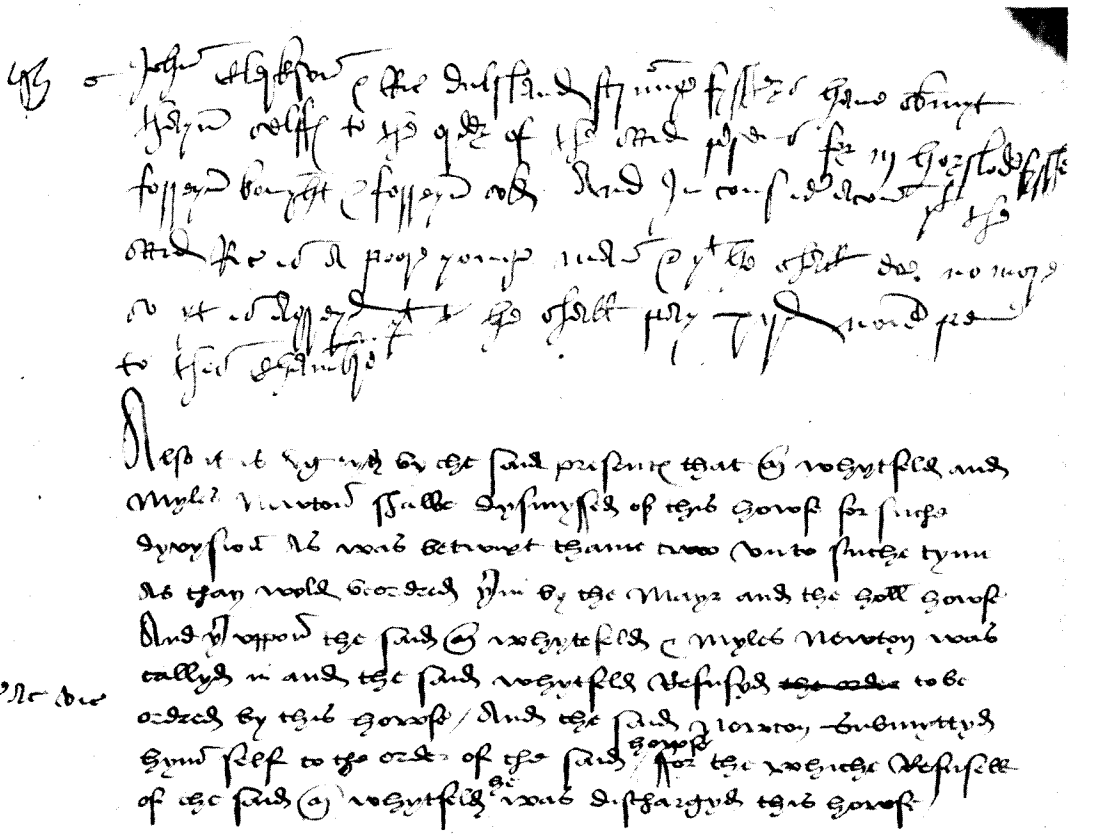
O lorde lovyd be thy name
ffor now is chaunsyd joyfull game
that erthe shall bryng forthe
ffull of myrthe and dilyte
Erbes treis sprynge on brede
wyth fruyte many one leo

be drawn together around John Clerke, there are a number scattered through the Toulmin Smith edition which are only possibly to be linked with him. Most specific are references to "the late/later hand" (26 instances), "the Elizabethan hand" (2 instances), "the 16th century hand" (5 instances), "the late annotator" (once), and "the late corrector" (4 instances). When these minor alterations, corrections and additions are mentioned in the Introduction, the phrase which is used is, "in a hand of the second half of the sixteenth century" (p.xv). Besides these there are numerous vaguer references to "a late hand", "by late hand", "an Elizabethan hand", "an old corrector", and so forth. The question which naturally arises is what Miss Toulmin Smith meant by the preciser references. Were they intended to point to John Clerke; and was she making a careful distinction between Clerke, whose hand she recognised, and a number of unidentified hands that also worked on the play? The answer to the first of these questions must be a hesitant "yes", in that she appears to have intended to draw attention to the appearance in a number of places of this "hand of the sixteenth century"; and to the second question a qualified "no". In most cases it is true that the preciser references are to Clerke's hand, though there are a few that are not and some that are doubtful, but at the same time there are many imprecise references to additions and notes which are certainly by Clerke.[3] If she intended a precise distinction between Clerke and other annotators, then the method was a vague and rather inaccurate one.

Miss Toulmin Smith's failure clearly to identify Clerke's hand, however, is easily understandable considering that hers was the pioneer text of the York Play; what is remarkable is that she was able to give the space and time that she did to trimmings of this sort. Unfortunately the apparent excellence of her text has led later scholars to give equal trust to matters that were central and those that were peripheral in her edition, and her comments on the later additions have given rise to two conflicting notions: on the one hand to a vague impression of an insignificant band of casual annotators, and on the other to the idea of a single hand linked with the supposed censoring activities of the ecclesiastical authorities in York towards the end of the sixteenth century.[4] Neither is anywhere near the truth. Of the one hundred and seventy-five or so marginal additions, about a hundred are certainly by Clerke, and a further twenty or so possibly by him. In other words there are additions by other hands, but they are not numerous. Moreover his additions include almost all the longer and more important ones. As far as ecclesiastical censorship is concerned, the entry that seems more than any other to have given rise to the idea is, "Doctor, this matter is newly mayde, wherof we haue no coppy" (f.42). Miss Toulmin Smith in commenting on this (and other entries) claims that "The 'Doctor' whom the city officers were eager to assure that so many portions of their favorite plays were 'mayd of newe', was none other than [Matthew] Hutton [dean of York] himself." (p.xvi). She earlier claims that these marginal entries "are evidence that the plays underwent careful revision in 1568, when the city council agreed 'that the booke therof shuld be perused and otherwaise amended before it were playd,' in obvious



The speaker's name and marginal note by Clerke at the opening of the Spicers' pageant (BL MS Additional 35290, f.42[44]). The initial *L* is similar in style to Clerke's other decorative capitals.



The earliest appearance of what seems to be Clerke's hand in the House Books. The entry above it is by Miles Newton. (York City Archives, HB 11, f.111. Photograph by David Whiteley, University of York.)

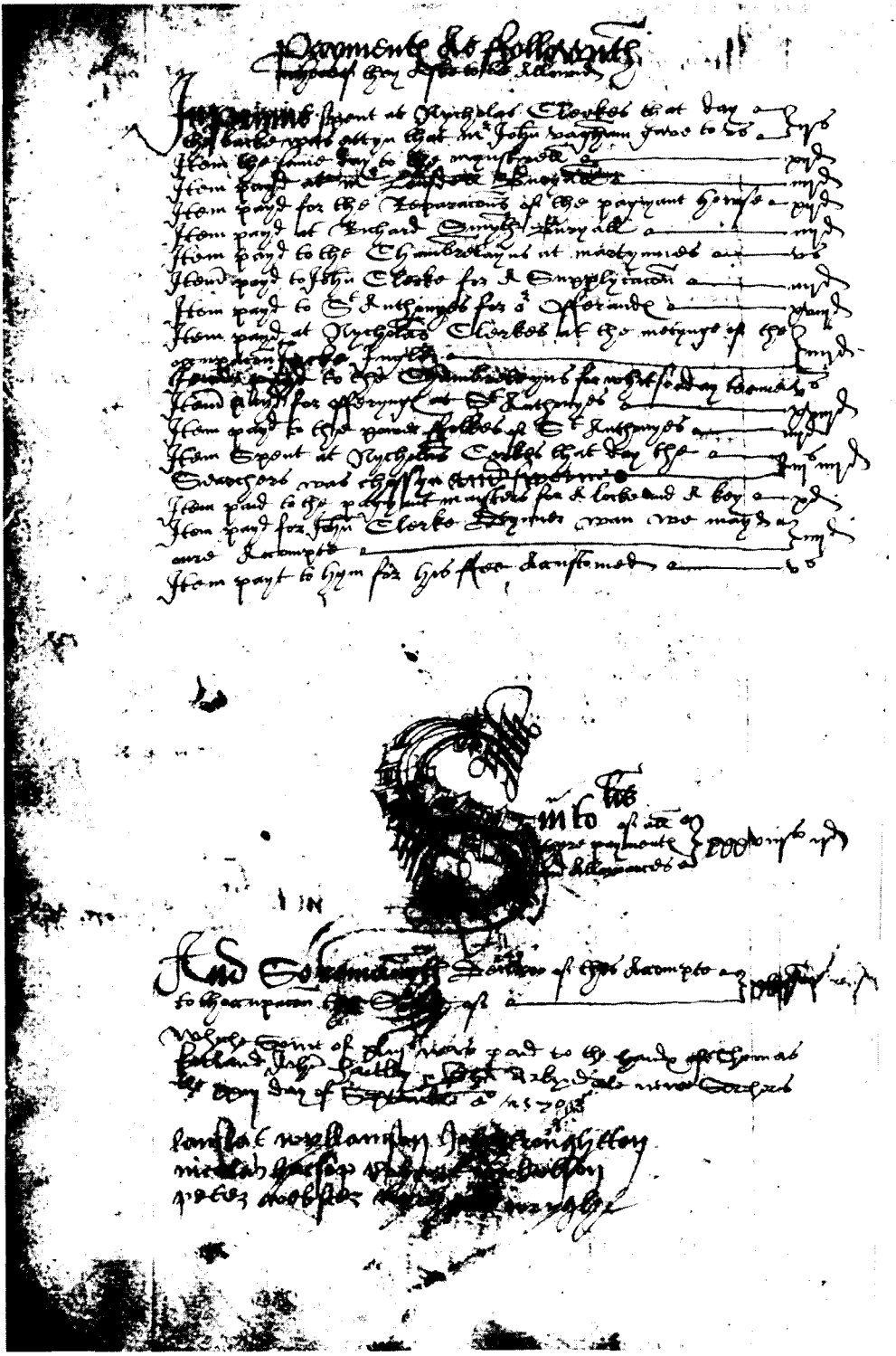
anticipation of the correction or censure of the reforming Archbishop Grindal". The "Doctor" who appears in this addition, however, is the name of the first speaker in the Annunciation pageant, accidentally omitted by the original scribe and supplied by Clerke, and has nothing whatsoever to do with Hutton or the reforms of the church.

Before looking further at John Clerke's annotation of the Register it is worth asking who he was and what official position (if any) he held in York in the mid-sixteenth century. His family did not belie its name. He was the son of Thomas Clerke and the grandson of John Clerke, each in his time sheriffs' clerk in the city. When Thomas Clerke, his father, was made a freeman in 1506-7 he was described in the Freemen's Rolls as "litteratus, filius Johannis Clerke nuper clerici vice-comitis".[5] In the 1540's Thomas was being paid 20s a year under the heading "fees of lernyd men", and was clearly being retained by the city as an adviser on legal and other matters.[6] He was no longer in office in 1556 since a certain John Grene was said to have the post of Clerk to the Sheriffs' Court "as Thomas Clerke layt Clerke of the sayd Courtes hadd occupied".[7] John Clerke had a brother, Michael (presumably elder since he was made a freeman in 1533-4), whose occupation is not described in the Freemen's Rolls (I, p.252), but who in view of his family may well have been the "mychaell clarke" paid 16d for making a supplication to the Lord Mayor on behalf of the Bakers' Company in 1544.[8] He was described as "gentleman" when his son, Robert, was made free in 1560-1 (II, p.2). Robert was, like John Clerke, a scrivener. When John was himself made free in 1538-9 he was referred to as "Johannes Clerk, scryvener, filius Thomæ Clerk, generosi" - son of Thomas Clerk gentleman (I, p.258). None of the family is ever described as Bachelor of Law, attorney or even notary public, and they seem always to have been on the edge of the legal profession, clerks and gentlemen rather than professional lawyers.

John Clerke was born in 1510, according to the evidence given in a legal case in which he was involved as a witness (see below, pp.252-3). Before he was admitted to the freedom of the city in 1538-9, he was already officially employed since in the Bridgemasters' accounts (which he was keeping at the time) he is described as "vnder clerk to Miles Newton the common Clerk of this city".[9] It was a position of this sort which he was to occupy for the rest of his life. In 1550, after Miles Newton's death, when the new Common Clerk took up office, John Clerke's services were retained:

> Also it is agreyd ⌈as well⌉ by the said presens as by the assent of the said Thomas ffaill, That John Clerke lait seruaunt and deputy to the said Myles Newton Lait Common Clerke of this Citie for suche diligent paynes as he the same John haith heretofore takyn in the said office of a Long tyme shall fromhensefurth be admittyd as deputy in the same office for the said Thomas ffaill according to his honeste demeanour in the same.[10]

The obscurity of this position has no doubt contributed to his later



The end of the Bakers' accounts for 1569-70, written by Clerke and containing several references to him. This is the first year in which he makes use of the elaborately calligraphic *S* (BL MS Additional 33852, f.35v; much reduced).

neglect but he was in his time a man whose services were much in demand. For the city, not only did he act as clerk to the Bridgemasters but his hand is to be found in all the other major city records: in the Freemens' Rolls, entering new freemen and chamberlains; in the Chamberlains' Rolls and Books, recording the day-to-day expenses of the city; and, most commonly of all in the House Books minuting the regular meetings of the Council.[11]

Besides his work for the city, he was employed as a "free-lance" clerk by both the guilds whose records have survived in any quantity, the Bakers' and the Mercers'. The Bakers employed him to keep their accounts over a number of years, beginning in 1567, and there are also many occasional payments for specific work.[12] In 1553, for example, the first year in which his name appears, he is paid 14d for "wryten", 6d for registering a "new market" at Ouse Bridge, and 6d for "makyng a Coppy of our presentmentes" (f.15). Compared with this in the same year Mr Faill, the Common Clerk, was paid 2s for making a supplication to the mayor, and 8d for "the copie of the laste decre" (ff.14v-15). The sums are not markedly different but there is a certain superiority about the work which the Common Clerk is being asked to do. Some idea of the quality of John Clerke's work and of the kind of thing he was doing in keeping the accounts can be gathered from the 1569 ones which have survived in two forms, the rough draft (not by Clerke) and the final copy (ff.65-6 and 33v-4). In the main the rough draft is legible and uncomplicated and John Clerke's was very much the scrivener's task of presenting a neat appearance, but there were spellings to regularise and some adjustments to make besides the actual job of adding up, which had not been done in rough. "hearye kelland" and "harie ketland" become "Henry ketland", for example, and "willn Lamtonge" (is there more than wayward spelling involved here, in reference to the son of Mr Langton, gentleman?) becomes "William Langton". The neatness of the final version is partly at least a result of the conventional frame of the headings, "Receptes as followeth" and "Paymentes as followeth", and the two *Summae totalis*, but there is also considerable calligraphic skill shown in the initials and the hierarchy of scripts. One alteration seems worth noting, though whether the result of John Clerke's advice or not it is impossible to tell, namely that "Item paid for the occupaicion for mr mayson when we went ageynts hym" is first altered to "Item paid for the occupaicion whan we mett the others consernyng mr mayson" (f.66) and finally appears as "Item paid for thoccupacion at our metyng a nother tyme consernyng mr Mayson" (f.34). The first alteration is in Clerke's hand though what the precise reason for it was, who suggested it, or what the situation was that produced the original entry, is not clear. The main impression left from a comparison of the two drafts is above all of careful and skilfull presentation.

What is particularly interesting about the run of Clerke accounts (1567-70 and 1572-4) is the changing pattern of the relationship between Clerke and the Bakers that they show. In 1567 the Bakers gave him only 12d for "wrytynge of the audit" and disallowed payment for his dinner, 6d; though it is true that in that year the searchers overspent by 2/6d (ff.27-28v). In the

following year, 1568, not only are they apparently giving him an extra 8d for last year's accounts but they are allowing him his dinner, 4d, paying him a "goodes penye" (*ie* earnest money to seal a bargain) of 4d, and paying him "wages" of 5s (f.32v). The bargain struck in 1568 created a new relationship with the Bakers for the next two years; he was paid a regular 5s a year, for "his fee accustomyd", and 4d for his dinner. Then for some reason, perhaps that one of the searchers was literate, or perhaps that the Bakers felt that 5s was too large a sum to disburse regularly, another hand does the accounts (1571), and when John Clerke reappears in the next year (1572) his fee accustomed has disappeared and he is charging for "wrytyng of my byll - iiijd" and "for wrytyng this accompte in dewe order and forme - xijd" (f.37v). In 1573 he is again paid a fee, but a reduced one of 3/4d (f.39). After 1576 he disappears altogether.

As an employee of the Mercers' company he appears first, as far as the printed records show,[13] in 1560 when he is paid 13s 4d as his "hole yere fee" (p.160). As Thomas Clerk (presumably his father) was paid 13s 4d in 1529 as "clerk to this gilde" (p.132), it seems likely that John also was their clerk. He may have taken over from his father, since besides the family connection he would be well known to the Mercers through his work for a city which was frequently under their governance.[14] The last mention in the printed records of his employment by them is in 1578 when he was paid 2s "for makinge of a letter and a certefecate for apprentices to beyond the seas" (p.195). There is no doubt much more to be uncovered about him in the unpublished Mercers' documents.

It is chiefly as a scrivener that he is being employed by the city and the guilds, not as a learned man. In a law-suit of 1556 he is described, presumably on his own evidence, as "a man partelie lerned and somthyng vnderstondes the Latten tonge".[15] The law suit was against the vicar of St Martin, Coney Street, Robert Fox, for drunkenness, being unlearned and a sower of discord, and it is interesting to see how Clerke stands amongst his fellow parishioners. Of the six witnesses only one other gives detailed evidence of Fox's errors in the Latin services he performed at St Martin's. That is John Langton, a member of the Bakers' Company, and a gentleman - he is so described in the Freemen's Rolls (I, p.248). Interestingly enough he was not only a neighbour of Clerke's but also a searcher of the Bakers' Company in the year that Clerke was first employed by them. He gives several examples of Fox's mistakes in the Latin service, for example that in christening children "'super hanc fauilla' he hathe pronunced and caulled it 'super hanc familia'". John Clerke is the only other of the witnesses to have observed and remembered this kind of error. The other witnesses were William Nicolsonne, aged 60, who could not read or write, understands no Latin, and therefore cannot say "whether the said Sir Robert foxe be lerned or not"; Robert Hewet, an armourer, not learned; Mr Adam Bynkes, sheriff, aged 45, who understood no Latin; and John Foxgale, the parish clerk, also not learned though he is able to offer two comments on Fox's conduct of services. In the first place he failed to administer extreme unction as he should, and secondly, a few years before, in christening a child "when he shoolde have said

'Ego baptiso te in nomine patris etc.', he said nothing but 'Ego baptiso te'". Clerke not only gives evidence of a learned kind but also remembers the events mentioned by the other witnesses of Fox's drunkenness in church on "Schier thursdaye" and at Adam Bynkes' house, and the Ibson episode when for "cominge in to churche and not spekinge out the said vicar caulled him and said 'good even, tomme foole', the said Ibson beinge knelinge of his knees before the sacrament". This law suit is not only useful for giving Clerke's age but also for setting him in a social context, producing a background to the pure facts of scrivening, and also perhaps revealing one of the routes by which employment came to him.

Another view of him comes through his will, made in March 1580 when he was aged seventy or so.[16] It shows that he was still living in St Martin's parish, and in it he asks to be buried in the porch of his parish church. He died in July 1580 and was buried on the twenty-ninth of that month, and his wife Margaret on 5 August, a week later. He bequeathed to his wife (fruitlessly as it was to turn out) "the lease of my tenement wher I now dwell in Connystrett in yorke", "my standinge bed in the parlour wher we lye with all furniture to the same belonginge, my counter in the greate parlour and my Flanders chiste in the Chamber". Besides this she was allowed the "vse and occupacion" of the orchard and property in North Street,[17] over the River Ouse, and half the residue of his goods and chattels when his debts were paid. To his daughter Jane, he left the orchard in North Street after her mother's death and the other half of the residue of his goods and chattels. The tenement in North Street he gave to his granddaughter "yonge Jane Pullen my doughters doughter" after his wife's death. Finally to Henry Pullaine, his son-in-law and one of the executors of his will, he left "all my Bookes of lawe and presidente" and the property in Coney Street after his wife's death. It would be interesting to know whether the stations of the play were ever visible from Clerke's house.[18] Compared with people like John North who made "specific bequests of nineteen houses, nine closes, two gardens, two orchards, a bowling alley, and a dovecote in the city", Clerke was not a wealthy man, but he did live in one of the streets described in 1622 as "the fairest and cheifest streetes in this Citty", and one "wherein men of the best sorte and ranck do frequent and dwell",[19] and if he never attained high office in the city he was nevertheless a much trusted servant of those who did. "Iohn Clerke" was the obvious choice of the city council in 1567 when they "Aggreed that the Pageantes of Corpus christi suche as be not allready Registred shalbe with all convenyent spede be fayre wrytten by Iohn Clerke in the old Registre yerof".[20]

Some knowledge of who John Clerke was seems essential for a true understanding of what he was doing in the Register of the Corpus Christi play, and I have tried to give information of that sort in the first half of this article. I should now like to turn to look more particularly at his work on the Register. It is first important to establish as far as that is possible over what period of time he was working on it. The earliest possible reference to his involvement is that contained in the 1542 Chamberlains' Book:

> Item paid to the seruant of the common Clerk for kepyng of the Register at the furst place where as the play of Corpus Christi was playd of Corpus Christi day this yere Accustomed[21] xx^d

As I have already said, Clerke was referred to as "seruaunt and deputy" to Miles Newton who was Common Clerk from 1519 until 1550; was he therefore the "seruant" referred to here? Unfortunately though there is no doubt that Clerke was servant to Miles Newton in 1542 it is not possible to say for certain that it does refer to Clerke because there was at the time another man, William Thomlyngson, also described as a servant to the Common Clerk and (if one payment is sufficient evidence) apparently on a par with Clerke. The payment that suggests their parity is 3/4d for "Clensyng the Chamber and making the ffyres accustomyd" in the 1542 Chamberlains' Book (f.88v for Thomlyngson and f.89v for Clerke). I have so far been able to find out nothing more about Thomlyngson. He does not appear to have gained the freedom of the city if his occupation was of a clerkly kind, and the only place where I have found the name in the right kind of context is at the end of the Freemen's Rolls where it is written three times on two separate pages in the same hand amongst other apparent "signatures".[22] His very shadowiness makes it difficult to dismiss him entirely, but certainly if later evidence is anything to go by it is John Clerke that is the more likely servant to sit at the first station of the play. 1542, then, is a possible first date for Clerke's official involvement with the play in performance; the first certain date for his involvement is 1554:

> Item payd to Iohn Clerke for kepyng of the Register of Corpuscrysty play at the furst place accustomyd xx^d [23]

Then in 1559 comes the reference noticed by Lucy Toulmin Smith to the entering of the Fullers' pageant, and in 1567 the request that the unregistered pageants should be brought in and entered by Clerke.[24] His connection with the play, both as a text and in performance, possibly stretches over twenty-five years.

One other reference needs to be noted which has some rather more general repercussions. In 1527 instead of the Common Clerk being at the first station his place was taken by Thomas Clerke.[25] The first suggestion, fanciful but not at all unlikely, that might be made is that his seventeen year old son might well have been with him. The second more general suggestion is that Miles Newton might have made a habit of absenting himself from this duty. He was possibly absent in 1524 and 1525 because he rented a station himself in Coney Street, he was absent in 1527 when Thomas Clerke took his place, and in 1542 when his servant did. At none of these times, however, is it officially stated that he was absent; the information always comes obliquely from another source. It is therefore quite possible that the regular references in the station lists to the Common Clerk should not be taken at face value, especially when, as is the case with a number of years, the records that might provide the necessary information of who was actually there are missing.[26]

John Clerke's work on the Register is of such a varied kind

that it seems to me most useful to deal with it under a number of different headings. I cannot here consider all his additions and alterations in detail but I will attempt to indicate the kind of change and to discuss some of the more complicated examples.

Omissions from the Register

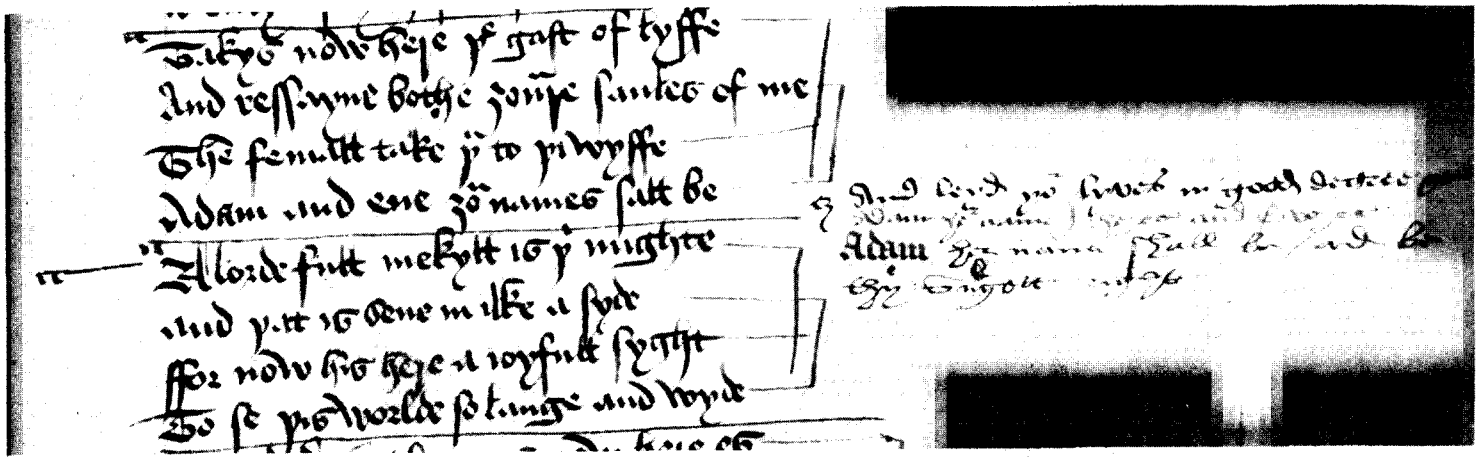
By far the commonest type of annotation in the manuscript refers to omission and most commonly it takes the form of *hic caret*. These brief (usually abbreviated) entries pose a special problem since it is very difficult to identify a hand on such small evidence. More important, however, than to identify the hands in these cases is to ask how the entries arose; how did the scribe, whether it was John Clerke or another, know that something was missing? If he discovered it by comparing the Register with the guild original, then why did he not enter the missing portions, since that was in general the clear intention of the city authorities. The answer is, I think, very much more likely to be that he noticed the omissions in the Register while he was following the pageant text at the first station and was usually only in a position to make quick indications of the position (and sometimes the extent) of missing portions. One of Clerke's rather longer annotations throws some light on this process. The Cardmakers' pageant (III, *God creates Adam and Eve*) is entered twice in the manuscript. On f.8(7)[27] in the right margin against the end of God's speech which ends, "Adam and Eue ȝour names sall be" is entered:

> *caret* And leyd *your* lyves in good degree &c.
> Adam here name I the &c. and Eve &c.
> her name shall be / and be
> thy Subgett right

On f.10v(9v) at the same point in the second copy of the pageant is written in the left margin:

> And leyd *your* lyves in good degre
> Adam here make I the / a man
> of mykyll myght
> This same shall thy subget be
> and eve her name shall hight

The first of these additions has clearly been written at a number of different times; first probably *caret*; then "And . . . degree &c."; then "Adam . . . be"; and finally "and . . . right", but all by Clerke. And they do not make sense as verse. The inference is surely that he scribbled down, perhaps over a number of years, what he could catch and record from the actors of the pageant, each time, thinking that he had finished, he added "&c." (in the case of the third entry having second thoughts in the middle) until he had most of the verse. How he produced the second version it is difficult to be sure. It is possible that he got hold of the guild original and copied it out from there; but it is equally possible (I would say, more likely) that he finally worked out something that made sense



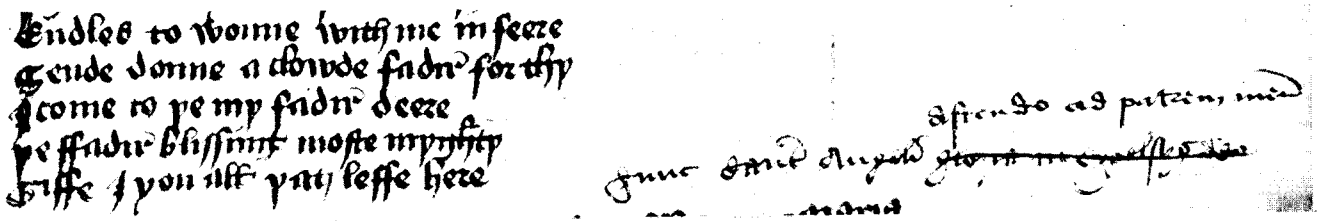
The additions to the Cardmakers' pageant (BL MS Additional 35290, f.8[7] and f.10v[9v]). The first line of each addition replaces the final line of the previous stanza.

from his own memory of the lines, and rather than erase his earlier attempts entered it in the second copy of the pageant. A similar situation exists on f.34(35) where *caret hic*, written first, is later followed by part of the missing text, and later again by the rest. The same changes of angle, size and ink are apparent here, and once again the second addition is followed by "&c.".[28] These attempts by John Clerke to fill in the missing sections are however the exception; what we are left with as a rule is a bare *hic caret* or *hic deficit* and no way of knowing how extensive or significant the additional passages were. In most cases the missing passages seem to be the result of revisions made by the guilds in their pageants rather than omissions of original material by the main scribe of the Register. He was by no means faultless but the indications of omission do not as a rule correspond with those places where he is clearly at fault.[29] We are therefore in most cases being given a tantalising glimpse of the prevalence of revision with no indication of its extent or significance.

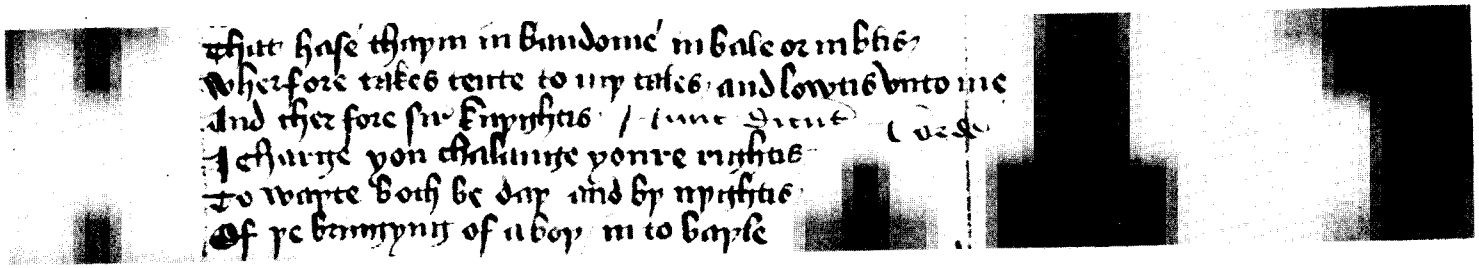
Another area of omission is the absence of complete pageants, something which one would expect Clerke to be much concerned with. In the case of the Fullers' pageant the guild brought in its copy and the text was entered by Clerke in 1559. No other omitted pageant was brought in until after the final demand of the city council in 1567, and even that produced only the Masons' and Labourers' *Purification*. What did Clerke do in the case of those which never appeared? In one case, the Vintners', he did what he had done with some of the omitted speeches and entered what he no doubt felt was an appropriate *incipit*. We are therefore in the curious position of having just one line and a bit to represent the whole pageant:

> Loo this is A yoyfull day o———Archedeclyne
> for me and (f.92v[97v])

Given that the subject is unique in English plays, the Marriage at Cana, it is especially to be regretted that Clerke left us with such an unhelpful snippet. His other approach to omitted pageants was quite different and had nothing to do with performance. Looking at the leaves on which the Ironmongers' pageant should appear it seems at first that he did nothing (f.98[107]). In fact he had erased what he had written perhaps in the expectation of receiving the original after the Council ordered in June 1567 the registering of the missing pageants.[30] What he had written was a copy of the entry for the pageant taken from the *Ordo Paginarum* in the city's A/Y Memorandum Book. It was presumably another way of indicating what should be there, but does it also suggest that the pageant was not in production and that therefore John Clerke could not give an *incipit*? The same may have been true of the Masons' and Labourers' *Purification*, since Clerke first entered a description of it (interestingly enough not taken from the *Ordo Paginarum*)[31] and then an *incipit* (f.68[74]). It is difficult to say whether there is a gap in time between the one and the other and therefore a possibility that at first the pageant was not in production, but was later. When Clerke received the original from the guilds he erased the earlier entry and put the present note drawing attention to the



Addition in what is almost certainly Miles Newton's hand, emended by Clerke (BL MS Additional 35290, f.221[239]).



The "interpolated cry" (BL MS Additional 35290, f.129[144]).

complete pageant towards the end of the manuscript.

Between the few lines and the complete pageants there exist a large number of omissions which Clerke has annotated somewhat more fully than with a simple *hic caret*. Most extensive of these omissions, in fact amounting apparently to a complete pageant, is the Girdlers', of which Clerke says, "This matter of the gyrdlers agreyth not *with* the Coucher in no poynt / it begynnyth Lysten Lordes vnto my Lawe /" (f.73v[79v]); in other words the Girdlers were playing a pageant which had been so extensively revised as to be unrecognisable from the copy in the Register. Elsewhere there are the familiar, "this matter is newly mayde / wherof we haue no Coppy /" (f.42[44]); "This matter is mayd of newe after anoþer forme" (f.69[75]) about which he apparently changed his mind since the annotation is deleted; "her wante*s* A pece newely mayd for saynt John Baptiste" (f.84v[92v]) and "This matter is newly mayd & devysed wherof we haue no coppy Regystred" (f.86[94]). Altogether about eight separate pageants are annotated in this way, which means that in the mid-sixteenth century at least eight pageants were being played in a substantially different form from the one they had had when they were registered somewhere between 1463 and 1477.[32]

Clerke also notes matters of staging, especially music. Most of these added stage "directions" record singing: "tunc cantat Angel*us*", sometimes with an *incipit*, "tunc cantat angelus ne timeas Maria" (f.44[46]); "tunc Cantant Angeli venicreator /" (f.88[96]), at an unexpected moment in the *Temptation* as Christ is placed on the pinnacle of the temple; and "tunc Angelus Cantat Resurg*ens*" (f.199 [217]) as Christ rises from the tomb. On f.224(239) is a music note interesting from two points of view; first because it is almost certainly in the hand of Miles Newton, and secondly because Clerke has altered the note "Tunc cant*ant* Angeli gloria in excelsys deo" by the deletion of the *incipit* and the entering of a new one, "Ascendo ad patrem meum", suggesting that the guild had decided on a new piece of music for Christ's ascension. Clerke's most extensive noting of stage movement is in *Herod and the Magi*, "Nota the harrode passeth & the iij kynge*s* com*m*yth agayn to make there offerynge*s*" (f.65v[71v]); but most of his notes refer to smaller movements such as drinking (f.149v[164v]), or washing (ff.119v[132v], 171[187]). He also notes an interpolated cry of "lorde" by the knights at Cayphas' court, when Cayphas at the end of a ranting speech suddenly turns and directly addresses them:

> *Cayphas* . . .
> And therefore, sir knyghtis, /tunc dicunt lorde
> I charge you chalange youre rightis
> . . . (f.129[144])

The interpolation is brief, but the theatrical possibilities, especially for comedy, are considerable. Perhaps it was the development of these that forced the interpolation on Clerke's notice.

I have included here omissions of original material as well as what might be thought of as additions because it seems to me that to Clerke they were all part of the attempt to record more

precisely what the play actually was in the sixteenth century.

Matters of organisation

John Clerke as an agent of the city was to some extent concerned with changes in guild responsibility, and there are a few annotations of this kind. The fullest is that which records the taking over by the Weavers of the Sledmen's pageant:

> Wevers assygnyd in
> A^{o}dni M^{l} D liij^{ti} William
> Cowplande then maior

This has been added over the erased guild heading at the beginning of the pageant (f.203v[221v]). To the left of this and a little bit lower is "Sledmen", and to the right is "Palmers". The problem here is, however, that all other evidence suggests that this was not the Sledmen's pageant but the Winedrawers', and that the next pageant was the one he should have marked. Lucy Toulmin Smith comments on it thus:

> 'The Wynedrawers' runs along the top of every page of this piece except the first, where it has been scratched out and the following written, [as above]. . . Along the top of every page of the next piece XL the original copyist also wrote 'The wynedraweres,' but it has been crossed through and 'Sledmen' written instead, on the first page (fo.206), in the same hand that wrote 'Sledmen' on fo.203v^{o}. It seems therefore that the original copyist made the mistake of writing 'The Wynedrawers' over the two plays, that a contemporary in correcting it himself wrote 'Sledmen' to Play XXXIX in error for XL (there is a faint line across the word which may mean a stroke of his pen), but then went on to correct the first page of XL (the rest are done in a different hand). And Play XXXIX, originally performed by the Winedrawers, was assigned to the Weavers in 1553, and at some other time, perhaps late in their history, it was assigned to the Palmers. (p.421)

I would tentatively suggest a different series of changes. In the first place I do not think that we should automatically dismiss the evidence of the main scribe of the Register. He may have been right in suggesting that by the late fifteenth century the two pageants were both the responsibility of the Winedrawers; certainly there is no evidence from that period to contradict this. In this case it may be that the Sledmen took over both pageants (again there is no contrary evidence) and that Clerke's note on the assigning of the pageant to the Weavers was accurate. The curious, apparent ascription of the first pageant to the "Palmers" (not in Clerke's hand but apparently earlier) may then be no more than a brief way of saying that this pageant was part of that dealing with the episode of the pilgrims to Emmaus. There is no sign elsewhere in the records at York of a Palmers' guild being involved in the play.

The cluster of *hic de novo facto*'s written by Clerke at the beginning of the second pageant may reflect later attempts (perhaps when the Sledmen took over) to make a smooth transition from one pageant to the next.

Clerke was not only responsible for the note assigning the pageant to the Weavers, he also added "Sledmen" at the head of the pages of the second of these pageants and presumably deleted "Wynedrawers" at the same time. If what I have suggested above is right, why did he not also correct "Wynedrawers" to "Sledmen" in the first pageant? I cannot as yet find a satisfactory explanation, but it should be noticed that the correction of headings is not as consistent as Miss Toulmin Smith suggests; five are corrected to "Sledmen", two are merely deleted, and the last one is left untouched. It is therefore possible that Clerke changed his mind about the alteration in working through the second pageant and decided merely to leave the indication of guild responsibility to the name "Sledmen" on the first page. The control by the Weavers only lasted one year. In 1554 they were once more bringing forth their own pageant of Mary's appearance to Thomas, and of what happened to these two pageants Clerke gives no hint, apart perhaps from crossing out his own new heading.[33]

One other concern of Clerke's, and one which may prove ultimately of considerable importance, is his organisation of the Register itself. Entries like "this is entryd afterwardes" (f.5v [6v]) at the beginning of the Cardmakers' pageant, or the note referring the reader to Clerke's own entry of the *Purification* towards the end of the manuscript, are straightforward enough, but there are others with rather more complex implications. Below the last line of the Cardmakers' pageant (second version, f.11 [10]) are the words:

> The ffullers pagyant
> Adam and eve this is the place ●———Deus/

Since the Fullers' pageant was missing when Clerke first certainly took charge of the Register (see above pp.245 and 257), it could be said that this is merely an *incipit* for a missing pageant. But as in the other cases of this sort (*eg* the Ironmongers' and the Vintners') Clerke has written the craft name and *incipit* on the first blank page after the previous pageant, it seems here as though he intended something slightly different. What he perhaps intended to show is revealed in the House Book for 1529, where the joining together of the Cardmakers' and Fullers' crafts is ordered:

> Item the said presens haith ordred that the Walkers [*ie* Fullers] & Cardemakers of this City fromehensfurth shall ioyne bothe thayre paiauntes in oone . . .[34]

In other words it is likely that by putting the *incipit* of the Fullers' on the same page as the end of the Cardmakers' pageant Clerke was indicating the physical joining together of the two. That this is what Clerke was doing is made even more probable when one looks at the end of the first version of the Cardmakers'

pageant. There to the right and below the last line of text is the entry:

> nota caret Adam & Eve this is the place
> that I haue grant you of my grace
> to haue *your* wonnyng in &c. f.9 (8)

It is by Clerke and has been partially erased. In the light of the use he made of the first version for scribbling in snatches of missing text (see above pp.255-7), it is likely that he was here recording his first impression that the text was continuous and that there was something missing, and that later (as with the missing lines) he was setting out in the second version a considered statement of the situation. It is worth observing that in his first note there is no mention of the fact that it is the Fullers' pageant that is missing, merely that it is a section of the text, which fits with the idea that the notes were made from seeing the play in performance.[35]

An even more complex problem arises from Clerke's notes to the Masons' and the Goldsmiths' pageants. These pageants are in themselves odd since though the Goldsmiths handed over one of their "pageants" to the Masons in 1432 (it is called in the agreement, "pagina herodis"[36]), their text, registered in 1463-77, still includes both the *Herod* and the *Offering of the Three Kings*. Much of the Masons' text consequently overlaps with the Goldsmiths' (ll.58 to the end, Masons', with ll.73-216, Goldsmiths'[37]). The main scribe of the Register was clearly given the revised *Herod* (then in the hands of the Masons) and the unrevised *Offering of the Three Kings* (the text as performed by the Goldsmiths before 1432). Anyone using the text in the Register would therefore have considerable difficulty in following a performance, and to make following the text even more confusing the Masons had apparently given up their playing of *Herod* by 1477 when they took over the *Purification*.[38] In the text, therefore, there would be an unplayed pageant before the Goldsmiths'. There are, however, no signs given by Clerke that the Masons' pageant was not played; in fact there are indications to the contrary. On f.58v(63v) there is a catch-phrase, "his wille", inadvertently left in by the main scribe, which ties the first part of the Masons' in with the old Goldsmiths' *Herod*. At this point there are erased notes in the right margin, and, just below, an erased "sequitur postea" in the left margin. On f.61(66) there is a further erased note:

> Hic caret I^us^ Rex
> Alake forsoth what
> shall I say
> sequitur postea We lake þat syne þat we haue soght

in other words an *incipit* (in a slightly different form) for the rest of the Goldsmiths' pageant (ll.217 to the end). In the text there are minimal alterations: "herodes" has been supplied where the first speaker's name was missing, and "is" inserted in l.19 (f.57v[62v]); and "contrees" has been replaced by "the world"

(f.60[65]). In the Goldsmiths' pageant there are no alterations to the text until f.64(70), when "jude" is altered to "all Jury" (l.120), and "filius" added as a speaker's name (l.125) thereby bringing it into line with the Masons'. The Kings are numbered on f.64v(70v), and re-numbered on f.65(71) probably not by Clerke, and "herodes" provided as the speaker's name on f.65v(71v). Apart from these alterations there is only the marginal note by Clerke on f.65v(71v): "Nota the harrode passeth & the iij kynges commyth agayn to make there offerynges".

There is not much to go on, but it is important for an understanding of the performance of these two pageants in the sixteenth century to attempt to explain how Clerke's annotations arose. I will offer what seems to me the most likely explanation. When Clerke sat at the first station in 1554 the Masons were presumably not playing *Herod*, since they had already taken over the *Purification*, and the Minstrels were not playing it since they did not take it over until 1561.[39] Why then are there annotations to the Masons' pageant? They cannot be explained in terms of the later taking over by the Minstrels, because they relate the Masons' pageant to the Goldsmiths'. Is it possible that when the Masons gave up the *Herod*, the Goldsmiths absorbed it into their pageant? Certainly the Goldsmiths' *Offering* would make an oddly truncated version of the episode on its own. The alternative is that the Goldsmiths simply reverted to their original text; but if that is so, why do Clerke's notes seem to attempt to integrate the Masons' *Herod* with the Goldsmiths' *Offering*? If Clerke had been following from the two texts in the Register a version integrating them both in performance, what might he have found? It would have run smoothly enough through Herod's opening rants until line 57 where he might have been momentarily thrown by the extraneous catch-phrase "his wille"; but surely not enough to have produced such a spate of annotation. Is it possible that at this point the Goldsmiths returned to their own text for the first appearance of the Kings (ll.1-72)? It is crucial that we should be able to read Clerke's first note, but so far I have been able only to make out a possible "caret" and a few isolated letters. If he did write "caret", then it might suggest that the Kings' first appearance was played, that it was lacking in the text he was following, and that he found it afterwards later in the manuscript ("sequitur postea").

From there the text again would run smoothly until the end of the Masons' pageant, after which the *Offering* would presumably follow from the Goldsmiths'. At this point, the end of the Masons', there is therefore a "Hic caret" and an *incipit* for the missing section. Clerke later found the section in the Goldsmiths' pageant and added "sequitur postea". It is interesting that the wording of the *incipit* is different from the text, as it suggests once again that Clerke was writing down what he heard.[40] In confirmation of this explanation there is the "filius" added to the Goldsmiths' pageant thereby bringing it into line with the Masons' which gives this speech to Herod's son, a character who does not exist in the Goldsmiths' version. The notes in the Masons' pageant could have been erased when the Minstrels took over in 1561 and the previous arrangement no longer held. It is Clerke who indicates the change

by adding "Mynstrells/" at the head of the first page of the pageant (f.57v[62v]).

The actual evidence is admittedly somewhat slender for this reconstruction of Clerke's actions but it is by and large consistent, both with itself and with what we know of his work elsewhere. Those inconsistencies that do exist, and they are few and small, could be the result of Clerke's attendance with the Register at the first station on more than one occasion. Having discovered that the Goldsmiths' text mainly duplicated the Masons' he may have followed the Goldsmiths' on a later occasion and made the minor alterations ("jude" to "all Jury"; "the thar" to "of this", l.157) which appear there and not in the Masons'. If this explanation is right, it throws interesting light on the process of adaptation and change taking place in the pageants in the sixteenth century, helps to establish the nature of the performance of the Goldsmiths' pageant at this time, and offers an answer to one part of the thorny question of which pageants were being played and which were not.

Understanding the nature of the additions to the Register is not a straightforward business and the explanation of their meaning almost always involves some leaps into speculation. It is, however, essential that we should see them as clearly as possible in their context if only for the negative reason that seeing clearly what something is enables us to reject what it is not. Part of the context is John Clerke himself, his relation to the City he served and to the play. It is possible to get a clear idea of his public face as a diligent servant of many masters, and even a glimpse of his private one, what is difficult to see is what his attitudes were, especially to the play that was to some extent in his care. He was an official employee and he seems to have been a careful scribe, and to this extent his additions to the text have a value far beyond that of a casual scribbler. Whether they record guild revisions that had already been made or actors' mistakes of the moment, they provide useful insights into the nature of the text and its performance. His attempts to indicate the ordering of the pageants too, considering that they were presumably in the nature of notes to himself, are by and large consistent and even if requiring speculation, not impossible of solution. Even his (and others') simple *hic carets* and *hic deficits* have an important place in indicating the areas in which revision had been carried out. The notes on the music used, given the reticence of the York text in stage directions, and the comments on stage business, few though they are, help to fill out our understanding of the resources of a York performance. Nothing in the additions and alterations by John Clerke or anyone else gives any sign of being censorship or official revision for the ecclesiastical authorities. Indeed the very wording of the notes, "hic caret", "here wants the conclusion", "this matter lacks" emphasises that this is an observer noting omissions in the text from watching the pageants in performance.

Much more will be discovered about John Clerke[41] but the essential facts seem to me to be clear. He was a respected scribe, if not a wealthy man then certainly a man of substance, officially employed by the city, and, as far as the play was concerned, given

the task of checking the City's text. York's mayor and council had always exercised a careful overall control over the Corpus Christi play, though leaving the guilds to organise their individual pageants, and one thing besides the quality of the performance which they had always kept an eye on was the content of the play. The billets and the *Ordo Paginarum* were the early method of control; by the latter part of the fifteenth century the registering of all the pageants was undertaken to replace the *Ordo*, and that of itself necessitated the last stage the supervision of the text by the mayor and council through the Common Clerk. John Clerke's work is therefore part of a continuing process of city control and not the result of a sudden ecclesiastical interest. His own work on the play either began before the Reformation was under way[42] or when Catholicism was again the state religion - neither of them times likely to produce Protestant censorship. In the course of his supervision he made a wide variety of observations about the sixteenth-century performances which are an invaluable source of information for our understanding of the play at this period. I hope I have given some idea of the value of these observations despite the difficulty of interpretation. The study of medieval English drama cannot just be a study of texts in isolation but of texts in a chronological context. The old philosophical truism that you can't jump into the same river twice is almost as true of something like the York play - you can't chronologically speaking study the same text twice. What John Clerke can do is to give an insight into that final period before the river dried up.

NOTES

1 *York Plays*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Oxford, 1885).

2 The date of this entry in the Chamberlains' Book is given in *York*, REED as 1559, not 1558 as in Toulmin Smith; *York*, Records of Early English Drama, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (University of Toronto Press, 1979) p.330. "1 Eliz." runs from 17 November 1558 to 16 November 1559.

3 Of the additions by Clerke to the Cardmarkers' pageant, for example, she says, "These lines are written in the margin in an Elizabethan hand" (p.15), and of that at the beginning of the Spicers' pageant, "A marginal note here in 16th cent. hand" (p.93). Later, in the Bowyers' and Fletchers' pageant, she notes, "MS. here has 'hic caret' in the 16th cent. hand", which is not by Clerke (p.265).

4 Hardin Craig, for example, talks of these entries as "a series of light revisions [which] appear in the manuscript of the York plays and apparently date from the revision called for [*ie* in 1568]". He goes on, "There are about fifty of these emendations recorded by Lucy Toulmin Smith, who regarded the handwriting as of the late sixteenth century. The revisions are, for the most part, mild and doctrinal and seem to be corrections made at this time, possible at the direction of Dean Hutton"; *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1955) p.359. See also H.C. Gardiner, *Mysteries' End* (New Haven, 1946) p.74, fn.49.

5 *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, ed. F. Collins, 2 vols., Surtees Society 96 and 102 (1897 and 1900) I, p.230. Page references in the text are to these two volumes.

6 For an example of his fee-ed position, see York City Archives, Chamberlains' Book 4, f.81, where two payments of ten shillings each are made to him during the year (1542) and are entered under the heading, "Learned mens fees". For an example of one type of advice he was called upon to give, see York City Archives, House Book 13, f.59 (11 August 1536):"Item Mr Thomas Clerk the Shiryffes Clerk of this Citye vppon the syght of the seid dett book & sclaunderous byll is of the same oppinyon of the writyng of them lyke as the forseid Robert Shellay & Mr William ffaux is". The case appears fully in *York Civic Records* 4, ed. Angelo Raine, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series 108 (1945 for 1943) pp.7-13.

7 York City Archives, House Book 22, f.1v. John Grene must have been the Sheriffs' clerk for some time as he is named as such and paid learned mens' fees in 1554; YCA, Chamberlains' Book 4, f.118. The entry in House Book 22 is written by John Clerke.

8 Bakers' Account Book, I, British Library MS Additional 33852, f.5v.

9 10 January 1535: "Item it ys Agreyd by the seid presens yat bothe the brigmaisters of ousebryg & fossebryg shall content & pay vnto John Clerk nowe beynge vnder Clerk to myles Newton the Common Clerk of this City for the makyng of theyre Accomptauntes of this yere Accordyng to the Auncyent custome of ⌜ye seid⌝ City yat is to say the seid brigmaisters of Ousebryge —— viij^{s} And the seid brigmaisters of fossebryg —— iiij^{s} And frome nowfurth the brigmaisters of this City for the tyme beyng to obserue & kepe the seid custome for makyng of theyre Accomptes yerely for euermore"; YCA, House Book 13, f.14v. In 1564, when he was still doing the Bridgemasters' accounts, he received 28s; Bridgemasters' Account Rolls, C91:1 (dorse).

10 8 December 1550, YCA, House Book 20, f.34. Thomas Fale died in 1571 and was succeeded by Leonard Belt, gentleman. I have not so far found it recorded that John Clerke continued as his deputy, but he was certainly still in the City's employment in 1573 since when a city charter of Richard I was returned (it had been lent to William Cook, a citizen, to clear himself of tolls charged at Grimsby), it is said to have been "layde up by John Clerk in the little chyst in the Chambre"; *York Civic Records* 7, YAS, Record Series 115 (1950) p.74.

11 See, for example, the Freemens' Rolls, YCA, C/Y, ff.199-219v; Chamberlains' Books 4 and 5; Bridgemasters' Rolls C91:1, 2, 3; and also a number of the category E documents, for example E 41, the 1542 Muster Roll. His main contribution, however, is to the House Books where he appears as early as 1533 (House Book 11, ff.117-8v, 121v, *et al*), even before being made a freeman of the City.

12 References to him and work by him are wholly contained in the Bakers' Account Book, I, BL MS Addit. 33852. The years in which Clerke kept the Bakers' accounts appear on ff.27-8v (1567), 31-2v (1568), 33v-4 (1569), 34v-5v (1570); 36v-7v (1572), 38-9 (1573), 39v-41 (1574).

13 *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers*, 1356-1917, ed. Maud Sellers, Surtees Society 129 (1918 for 1917). The records printed there are only a tiny proportion of the documents of the guild that survive.

14 "Of the one hundred and six aldermen during the sixteenth century, sixty were merchants proper"; of the thirty-nine mayors, nineteen or twenty were merchants; D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (OUP, 1979) p.106.

15 The records of the case are in the Dean and Chapter Court Cause Papers in the Borthwick Institute, University of York (D/C CP 1556/1). John Clerke's evidence is on f.6v. I am grateful to Eileen White for drawing my attention to the case.

16 The will is contained in Probate Register 22B, f.495r&v, Borthwick Institute, and is dated March 20 1580 (1579 o.s.). Probate was granted on 7 February 1584 ('83 o.s.). His death and that of his wife are recorded in *The Parish Registers of St Martin, Coney Street, York*, ed. R.B. Cook, Yorkshire Parish Register Society 36 (1909) p.76.

17 Property in North Street is the subject of two feoffments between Thomas Clerke on the one hand and William Pullay and Thomas Williams on the other, dated 1544. The property is described (in Joyce Percy's translation) as lying "in width between the land of the Mayor and Commonalty of York on the south and the land of Christopher Neleson, gentleman, on the north, and in length from Northestrete on the east as far as the land of John Bachelor, cordwainer, on the west". If the city property is the same as that viewed in 1572 and described as "at the west end of Alhallos Churche Yerde", then it may be possible to fix the position of Clerke's property fairly precisely as lying to the north of All Saints Church and fronting on North Street. John Clerke was one of those who viewed the city property in 1572, perhaps because, as his land was adjacent, he was an interested party in establishing the bounds. He is apparently not one of those named as an officer of the City. See *York Memorandum Book*, ed. Joyce W. Percy, Surtees Society 186 (1973) pp.260-1 (feoffments), 295 (city property).

The Clerke family may have been associated with North Street very much earlier. Thomas Clerke, Common Clerk, who died in 1482 and was buried in All Saints Church (his monumental brass still partially survives), owned land "lying between the messuage of the Mayor and Commonalty in which Thomas Neweton, shearman, lately dwelt, on the one side, and the messuage of William Kendale, late citizen and merchant of York on the other, and

extending in length from Northstrete in front to the messuage of William Holbek, citizen and merchant, occupied by William Warde, behind" (*Y.M.B.*, pp.204-5). "Thomas Clerk" has been written in the margin against this entry in a hand that appears to be John Clerke's, and this Thomas Clerke may have been John's great grandfather, but if so his son John was registered as a freeman twice, first as his son and secondly as "clerk vicecomitis" (Sheriff's clerk), *Freemens' Rolls*, I, pp.202 and 204.

18 Though he lived in Coney Street Clerke seems never to have rented a station to hear the play. It is possible that his house was on the wrong side of the road (see Meg Twycross, "'Places to hear the play:' pageant stations at York, 1398-1572", *REED Newsletter* (1978:2) 18-20), or that being never in on the day he had no reason to. Henry Pullaine, who also lived in Coney Street, rented a station in front of his house in 1572 for the Pater Noster play.

Henry Pullaine, who married Jane Clerke in 1563, was a scrivener who became a notary public and later an attorney. He and his wife both died in 1605. Besides being John Clerke's son-in-law, he clearly worked with him since when in 1567 the City Council decided to order its books and documents it suggested John Clerke, Ed. Fale and Henry Pullen by name as appropriate people to help the Common Clerk; *York Civic Records* 6, YAS, Record Series 112 (1948) p.126. It is probable that Henry was the grandson of John Pullaine, Common Clerk in the early years of the sixteenth century.

Jane, John Clerke's granddaughter, married William Scrafton in 1586 and bore him fifteen children. It is odd that she is the only grandchild that Clerke names in his will since he had nine altogether, several of whom survived. For information about the family see the St Martin, Coney Street, Parish Registers (note 16, above).

19 Palliser, *Tudor York* p.105 (John North's bequests) and pp.138-9 (description of the streets from House Book 34).

20 *York*, REED, p.351, from House Book 24, f.82.

21 *York*, REED, p.280, from Chamberlains' Book 4(1), f.88 (the entry is in Miles Newton's hand).

22 YCA, C/Y f.355r&v. Of the other names only "Ric*ard*us Ripplyngham" was a scrivener, made free in 1484-5 (I, p.207). Thomlyngson's name appears in the Muster Roll of 1539 (YCA, E64 f.84) as "seruant of the said Myles Newton", Newton himself appears a few names further up the list. They are both in the section labelled "Archers - Able *per*sons for the warre/ horsyd and harnest", and both have been deleted. John Clerke appears later under "Archers - Able *per*sons for the warre hauyng neither hors nor harnes" (f.84v). This would suggest that Thomlyngson was Newton's personal servant, and perhaps make it more likely that it was Clerke who was employed to keep the Register at the first station in 1542. I am grateful to Eileen White for noticing Thomlyngson's name in the Muster Roll.

23 *York*, REED, p.317, from Chamberlains' Book 4(2), p.142.

24 *York*, REED, p.351.

25 *York*, REED, p.244, from Chamberlains' Book 3(1), p.159. See also Twycross, "'Places to hear the play'", 32.

26 Meg Twycross slightly obscures this in her otherwise most useful lists ("'Places to hear the play'", 28-33) by not including the appearances of Miles Newton's servant (1542) and John Clerke (1554) at the Trinity Ga*t*s

station. Though the statement in the station lists "where the Common Clerk keeps the Register" is common form and the allotting of a place to the Common Clerk does not necessarily imply his personal presence, nevertheless Miles Newton's hand does appear in the Register, and he seems to have been making notes of a kind similar to John Clerke's (see p.259 below).

The information of who was at the first station will normally appear only if (a) someone deputises for the Common Clerk, needs paying and therefore appears in the Chamberlains' Books or Rolls, and then (b) only if the relevant book has survived.

27 The double foliation is given in order to link references both to the Toulmin Smith edition and to the forthcoming facsimile of the York Register in *Leeds Texts and Monographs, Medieval Drama Facsimile series*. The first number is that of the edition, the second, which takes into account all blank leaves, is that of the facsimile. A full list of marginal additions and alterations will appear in the Introduction to the facsimile.

28 There are a number of alterations and notes of omission in this pageant, the Parchmenters' and Bookbinders' *Abraham and Isaac*, X. The one described here is in some ways straightforward, the others are more complicated. On f.32v (33v), for example, Clerke has indicated the omission of Isaac's words:

father wold god
I shuld be slayne.

He has later deleted them. A guide mark x indicates that he understood them to belong between ll.164 and 165. The marginal lines are so like l.89, "Why! fadir, will god þat I be slayne", that it seems almost certain that they are a misplaced variant of it. The most obvious reason why Clerke should have entered them here is that the actor playing Isaac came in with his lines too early. The pattern of error is only too familiar. The mistaken placing is preceded by two lines of Isaac's, the second being:

Bot wher-of sall oure offerand be? (l.162)

and two lines by Abraham (actually the beginning of a long speech). The correct placing is preceded by two lines of Isaac's, the second being:

Whar-of oure offerand shulde be grathid? (l.186)

and two lines by Abraham. It looks like a classic case of an actor's lack of concentration. Understandably Clerke, or someone else, later deleted the added line. The Toulmin Smith edition gives no indication of this marginal entry.

29 The main scribe seems to have had particular difficulty with the central Passion pageants, XXIX-XXXIV, perhaps because of the heavy revision of the copy he was provided with. For a typical example, see f.165v (181v), where he misses a speaker's name, lets the lay-out of the verse become somewhat confused, and seems finally (but rather unnecessarily) to despair of rhyme-links.

30 *York*, REED, p.351. The Vintners' pageant, if it had been brought in, would simply have been copied in following on from the first lines, but by copying in the *Ordo Paginarum* description of the Ironmongers' pageant Clerke had taken up some of the space needed for the text. The *Purification* was the only pageant to be brought in and copied up. Why the Cappers' pageant needed to be seen and compared with the Register version is not clear. One might have expected the Girdlers' to be required in view of Clerke's comments (see below p.259).

31 The *Ordo Paginarum* description is the unaltered 1415 one and runs: "Maria cum puero Josep Anna obstetrix cum pullis columbar*um* Syme[on recipiens] puer*um* in vlnas suas *et* duo filii [Symeonis]" (parts in square brackets

are under a paper patch). The erased description on f.68(74) of the Register runs, as far as it can be made out: "Maria et Joseph offerentes . . . Symeon . . . in vlnas suas Anna prophetissa et angelus/". Richard Beadle was, as far as I know, the first to notice the erased inscription.

The Ironmongers' description in the *Ordo* is now almost totally covered by the paper patch, but Clerke's copy agrees almost word for word with that given in the Toulmin Smith transcription (*York Plays*, p.xxii).

32 For this dating of the Register see Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith, "Further external evidence for dating the York Register (BL Additional MS 35290)", *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 11 (1980 for 1979) 51-8.

33 This change was a result of the removal of the Marian pageants from the play in 1548, one of which, the *Appearance of our Lady to Thomas*, was brought forth by the Weavers. The play was performed without the Marian pageants in 1548, 1549, 1551 and 1553. Only in 1553 did the Weavers take over another pageant, the Sledmen's, and in 1554 with the return of Catholicism under Mary they took up their own Marian pageant again, and the Sledmen apparently reverted to theirs. For the records on which the foregoing is based see *York*, REED, pp.291-2, 293, 297, 307, 310 and 321.

34 *York*, REED, pp.249-50, from House Book 11, f.55. There is no doubt here of the joining together of pageants and not just crafts, though the wording of official decrees is not always as clear as one might expect. It would sound from the wording of the Locksmiths' and Blacksmiths' agreement of 1530, for instance, as though each craft owned a pageant, though there is no evidence that there was ever more than one. See *York*, REED, p.252, from House Book 11, f.89.

35 The case of the Tilers and the Chandlers, discussed by Richard Beadle at the first *Medieval English Theatre* meeting in 1979 at Lancaster, is somewhat similar though more complex. Here there is also the erased *incipit* and the *caret* note. There is no sign in the records of a joining together of the crafts, but there is the linking of the pageants implied in the revised wording of the *Ordo* description of the Tilers' pageant, ". . . angelus loquens pastoribus *et* ludentibus in pagina sequente".

I am most grateful to Richard Beadle for various discussions of the Register that have arisen out of our work on the facsimile edition. For a number of marginal notes, especially those requiring ultra-violet light, he was the first to offer a reading.

36 *York*, REED, pp.47-8, from A/Y Memorandum Book, ff.257-7v.

37 The line numberings given are those of Lucy Toulmin Smith's edition, although in this instance she does not print that part of the Masons' which overlaps with the Goldsmiths' pageant.

38 *York*, REED, pp.112-13, from A/Y Memorandum Book, f.291v, and p.115, from Chamberlains' Book 1A, f.114v.

39 *York*, REED, pp.337-8, from B/Y Memorandum Book, ff.222-3v.

40 The text of the Goldsmiths' pageant reads:

> A! sirs, for sight what shall I say?
> Whare is oure syne? I se it not. (11.217-18)

41 For example, Eileen White has drawn my attention to E48/49, the Royal Subsidies, where John Clerke is listed as a constable of St Martin's parish (with Gregory Metcalf) and where Miles Newton and John Langton are among

the four men sworn to give assistance to the constables (1540). The assessment in the same volume gives an idea of Clerke's wealth; he is assessed at £4. Much also remains to be discovered about his father and the rest of his family before a complete picture will emerge; but this is clearly beyond the scope of this article.

42 "There was as yet little evidence of Protestant thinking in the Minster. Perhaps the injunctions which Lee [archbishop until 1544] gave to the dean and chapter concerning the parish churches in their care reflect his theological caution. He required the dean and chapter to see that in the parish churches appropriated to the Minster the priests taught their people the Pater Noster, the Salutation of our Lady, and the Creed in English, and to repeat prayers in English after the curate; and he expected the curates themselves to buy a bible in English, and to read and compare it with the Latin Vulgate. The only one of Lee's injunctions which could not have been devised by a reforming Catholic was that ordering ministers publicly to deny the authority of the bishop of Rome, and to proclaim the king the supreme head of the Church under God. Not until Lee died in 1544, and Robert Holgate replaced him, did an active Protestant archbishop appear in the church of York."; Claire Cross, "From the Reformation to the Restoration", in *A History of York Minster*, ed. G.E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (Oxford, 1977) p.198.

I should like to thank Mrs Rita Freedman and Mrs Mary Thallon for their unfailing helpfulness and for making the York City Archives one of the pleasantest and easiest places to work, and also Eileen White, who in her search for the remains of other York worthies has observed and passed on so much of interest relating to John Clerke. Pages from British Library MSS Additional 35290 and 33852 are reproduced by permission of the British Library.

"YOU" AND "THOU" IN SHAKESPEARE'S *RICHARD III*

By CHARLES BARBER

In her study of the second-person pronouns in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing* and *King Lear*, Joan Mulholland finds no evidence in those plays to support the common view that members of the lower classes use *thou* to one another in the singular.[1] This is not true of *Richard III*, in which the only obviously lower-class characters in the play, the two men who murder Clarence, regularly address one another as *thou*. It will therefore be convenient to begin by examining the scene of Clarence's murder (I.4). Besides considering *you* and *thou*, I shall take into account the variant *ye*, the oblique form *thee*, the possessive forms *yours* and *thine*, the intensive and reflexive pronouns *yourself* and *thyself*, and the determiners *your*, *thine*, and *thy*. The justification for this is that these forms all pattern in the same way: if, in a speech or extended passage, one character regularly addresses another as *thou*, he will normally also select *thee*, *thine*, *thy*, and *thyself*. For convenience, I shall use *You* and *Thou* (with upper-case initials) to denote entire groups of forms: when I say that, in a given speech, a character uses *Thou*, I shall mean that he uses one or more of *thou*, *thee*, *thine*, *thy*, and *thyself*. Similarly, *You* means one or more of *you*, *ye*, *yours*, *your*, and *yourself*.

In the scene of Clarence's murder, the characters are of widely disparate rank. Clarence is a royal duke, brother to the King. Brakenbury is a knight, and an important royal official (Lieutenant of the Tower); he is therefore of high status, but nevertheless of much lower rank than Clarence, since he is not even a member of the nobility. The Keeper is of indeterminate status; he is obviously of much lower rank than Clarence, but presumably at least a gentleman: the King's brother, even when in prison, would hardly have a plebeian as his custodian. In the First Quarto of 1597 (followed by Q2-Q8), the character of the Keeper does not exist: his lines are given to Brakenbury. Not until the First Folio of 1623 does the Keeper appear. The fact that the Keeper's lines can equally well be spoken by Brakenbury supports the assumption that he is of gentle status. The two Murderers are obviously plebeians; this can be seen from their own mode of speech, and also from the way in which others address them - *mates* (I.3.339), *lads* (I.3.353), *fellow* (I.4.85). In the standard Elizabethan four-class scheme, they belong to the bottom group (artisans and labourers);[2] since, despite their low status, they carry swords (I.4.155), the obvious way to play them is as common soldiers. It is notable that the Murderers are the only characters in the play to use prose: even the London citizens in II.3 speak in verse. Even the Murderers speak prose in only one

passage, from their entry in the middle of II.4 to the point where Clarence wakes up; when they engage in conversation with persons of exalted rank (Richard at the end of I.3, Clarence in the second half of I.4) they use verse. Their use of prose when they converse with one another is a mark of their low social status.

In the first part of I.4, Clarence tells the Keeper about his ominous dream. As can be expected in view of Clarence's exalted rank, the Keeper invariably uses *You* to him. It will be noticed, moreover, that the *You* collocates with respectful vocative expressions:[3]

> What was *your* dream *my Lord*, I pray *you* tel me
> (I.4.8)
>
> No maruell *Lord*, though it affrighted *you*
> (I.4.64)
>
> I will *my Lord*, God giue *your Grace* good rest
> (I.4.75)

Not until the end of this dream-passage does Clarence use a second-person pronoun to the Keeper, and then it is *Thou* (Fl *I prythee*, Ql *I pray thee*) (I.4.73). Later in the scene, Clarence again uses *Thou* when he wakes and calls to the Keeper to bring him a cup of wine (I.4.161). This is the social use of *Thou*, the natural mode of address from a prince to somebody of much lower status. The only other examples of second-person pronouns in the opening part of the scene occur in Clarence's prayer, in which (in accordance with the invariable custom of the time) he addresses God as *Thou* (I.4.69-72).

There follows a bridge-passage in which Brakenbury meditates on the vanity of princely glory (thus giving Clarence time to go to sleep), and then the two Murderers enter. Brakenbury immediately addresses the First Murderer as *Thou*:

> What would'st *thou Fellow*? And how camm'st *thou* hither.
> (I.4.85)

The *Thou* collocates with the patronizing vocative *Fellow*: Brakenbury immediately places the Murderer socially, presumably because of his clothes and his accent.[4] The First Murderer is cocky with Brakenbury, but nevertheless maintains the proprieties by addressing him as *You*, collocating with the polite vocative *sir* (I.4.98-99). After reading the Murderers' commission, Brakenbury says:

> I am in this, commanded to deliuer
> The Noble Duke of Clarence to *your* hands.
> I will not reason what is meant heereby,
> Because I will be guiltlesse from the meaning.
> There lies the Duke asleepe, and there the Keyes.
> Ile to the King, and signifie to him,
> That thus I haue resign'd to *you* my charge.
> (I.4.91-97)

The switch to *You* does not indicate any change in Brakenbury's attitude: it is simply that he is using the plural. The commission commands him to hand over Clarence to the two Murderers, and he will resign his charge to both of them. It has never been possible to use *Thou* as a plural; in the singular there is a choice between *You* and *Thou*, but in the plural *You* is compulsory.

Brakenbury goes off, and there follows a dialogue between the Murderers, in which they invariably address each other as *Thou*. This is an example of the use of *Thou* as the normal form of address between members of the lower classes. Between the exit of Brakenbury and the waking of Clarence, the Murderers use no less than twelve examples of *Thou* to one another (I.4.100-160), and no examples of *You* whatever.

Clarence wakes (I.4.161), and for a time usage is quite normal: he addresses a Murderer as *Thou*, and the Murderer replies with *You*:

> *Clar.* Where art thou Keeper? Giue me a cup of wine.
> *2 Mur.* *You* shall haue Wine enough *my Lord* anon.
> *Clar.* In Gods name, what art *thou*?
> *1 Mur.* A man, as *you* are.
> *Clar.* But not as I am Royall.
> *1 Mur.* Nor you as we are, Loyall.
> *Clar.* *Thy* voice is Thunder, but *thy* looks are humble.
> (I.4.161-7)

Once again, *You* collocates with a respectful vocative, *my Lord*. Clarence continues to use *Thou* when he addresses one Murderer. It was perfectly possible to address a social inferior as *You*, and in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama there are many examples of scenes between a master and a servant in which the servant invariably says *You* while the master fluctuates between *You* and *Thou*. The social gulf between Clarence and the Murderers is so great, however, that he does not use singular *You*; even when he is wheedling one of them, he continues with *Thou*:

> My Friend, I spy some pitty in *thy* lookes:
> O, if *thine* eye be not a Flatterer,
> Come *thou* on my side and intreate for mee.
> (I.4.263-5)

It is true that Clarence several times says *You*, but in such cases he is addressing both Murderers, and so necessarily using the plural *You*. In many cases the plurality is made quite explicit by the context:

> *You* scarsely haue the *hearts* to tell me so
> (I.4.175)
>
> Wherein my *Friends* haue I offended *you*?
> (I.4.177)
>
> Haue *you* that holy feeling in *your soules*
> (I.4.250)

O *sirs* consider, they that set *you* on
(I.4.254)

In some cases, inevitably, Clarence uses *You* without there being an explicitly plural context, but there can be little doubt that these examples of *You* are to be interpreted as plurals; for, whenever there is an explicitly singular context, Clarence says *Thou*, and it is clear that his regular practice is to address two Murderers as *You*, and one Murderer as *Thou*.[5]

As for the Murderers, they begin quite conventionally, addressing Clarence as *You*, and using the respectful vocative *my lord* (I.4.162, 180). Then suddenly, at I.4.201, when Clarence is at the height of his eloquent appeal for life, both Murderers switch to *Thou*, and at the same time the respectful vocatives disappear. The comment on this switch by Sister St Geraldine Byrne is that *Thou* is used "in a spirit of equality".[6] This perhaps involves an anachronistic view of Elizabethan social attitudes; but in any case the important thing, surely, is that the emotional temperature of the scene has risen sharply, and that the Murderers are extremely angry with Clarence, who has been fulminating against them on the wickedness of their proposed action. In a long harangue, Clarence condemns the intended killing as both illegal and irreligious (I.4.181-92), and as the climax of his speech threatens them with God's vengeance:

Erroneous Vassals, the great King of Kings
Hath in the Table of his Law commanded
That thou shalt do no murther. Will you then
Spurne at his Edict, and fulfill a Mans?
Take heed: for he holds Vengeance in his hand,
To hurle vpon their heads that breake his Law.
(I.4.195-200)

This denunciation goads the Murderers into angry counter-accusations:

2 Mur. And that same Vengeance doth he hurle on *thee*,
For false Forswearing, and for murther too:
Thou did'st receiue the Sacrament, to fight
In quarrell of the House of Lancaster.
1 Mur. And like a Traitor to the name of God,
Did'st breake that Vow, and with *thy* treacherous blade,
Vnrip'st the Bowels of *thy* Sou'raignes Sonne.
(I.4.201-7)

The use of *Thou* is here a sign of extreme anger, hostility, loss of self-control. To the original audience, the use of *Thou* by a plebeian to a prince was presumably quite shocking, and brought out the emotional violence of the passage. As long as the slanging-match continues, the Murderers address Clarence as *Thou*; but the moment the heat goes out of the situation they revert to the conventional *You*, which they use to Clarence for the rest of the scene. The switch back to *You* occurs when Clarence asks the Murderers to go to Richard:

If you are hyr'd for meed, go backe againe,
And I will send you to my Brother Glouster:
Who shall reward you better for my life,
Then Edward will for tydings of my death.
(I.4.228-31)

Since it is Gloucester who has hired them to kill Clarence, the reaction of the Murderers to this speech can only be one of irreverent mirth, as in the First Murderer's leering *I so we will* (I.4.234); and their attitude to Clarence becomes one of patronizing contempt (the poor mug, he thinks his brother Gloucester loves him!). But as soon as they adopt this attitude, the heat goes out of the situation, and the accusations and counter-accusations stop. And at once the Murderers revert to *You*:

You are deceiu'd,
Your Brother Glouster hates *you*.
(I.4.232)

And so they continue; even when the First Murderer is actually killing Clarence he addresses him as *You* (I.4.270). At the same time, the respectful *my lord* reappears (I.4.249, 268) - though it is worth observing that it is only the Second Murderer who addresses Clarence thus, never the First.[7]

In the short passage after the murder, the two Murderers address one another as *Thou*, with one curious exception:

1 Mur. How now? what mean'st *thou* that *thou* help'st me not? By
Heauen the Duke shall know how slacke *you* haue beene.
2 Mur. I would he knew that I had sau'd his brother,
Take *thou* the Fee, and tell him what I say,
For I repent me that the Duke is slaine.
(I.4.274-8)

It is difficult to see any reason for the First Murderer's use of *you* here; apart from this one example, the two of them always use *Thou* to one another; and there is no obvious interpretation for this *you*. It might be a sarcastic suggestion that the Second Murderer is putting on upper-class airs; but this does not fit the context. Moreover, there is another oddity about this speech of the First Murderer's: it is printed by F1 as prose, whereas the entire remainder of the scene after the awaking of Clarence is in verse. The first half of the First Murderer's speech does indeed make a perfectly good line of early Shakespearean blank verse, but the second half does not (unless we emend *you haue* to *y'aue*). If however we turn to the First Quarto of 1597, we find that the passage reads as follows:

1 Mur. Why doest *thou* not helpe me,
By heauens the Duke shall know how slacke *thou* art.
2 Mur. I would he knew that I had saued his brother.
Take *thou* the fee, and tell him what I say,
For I repent me that the Duke is slaine.

There can surely be no reasonable doubt that the F1 reading is wrong, and that the correct reading for the second half of the First Murderer's speech is *By heauens the Duke shall know how slacke thou art*. This has the expected pronoun *thou*, and is also a perfectly good line of early Shakespearean blank verse. Curiously enough, editors of the play seem not to have noticed the point, and usually retain the First Folio reading.

Another scene in which there are significant switches between *You* and *Thou* is the one in which Richard woos Anne (I.2). The two central characters in the scene are both of royal status: Richard is brother to the King (Edward IV), and Anne is daughter-in-law to the previous king (Henry VI). The only other speaker is a Gentleman (with a mere two lines). The scene opens with the funeral-cortege of Henry VI, with Anne as mourner. It may be thought curious that, in her opening speech, Anne regularly addresses the dead king as *Thou*, since we might expect a respectful *You*: Henry, after all, had been both her king and her father-in-law. The explanation is that Anne is not addressing a king, but first a dead body and then a disembodied spirit:

> Poore key-cold Figure of a holy King,
> Pale Ashes of the House of Lancaster;
> *Thou* bloodlesse Remnant of that Royall Blood,
> Be it lawful that I inuocate *thy* Ghost
> (I.2.5-8)

The clue is given by the word *inuocate*. Invocations or apostrophes to a supernatural being, or to an inanimate object, or to a personified abstraction, regularly make use of *Thou*. At the opening of Jonson's *Volpone*, Volpone addresses his gold as *Thou*; in *King Lear*, Edmund addresses the goddess Nature as *Thou*. In *Richard III* there are many such addresses: to the earth (I.2.63, IV.4.31-2), to outrage (II.4.64), to Pomfret Castle (III.3.9-12), to England (III.4. 103-4), to the Duchess of York's womb (IV.1.53-4), to day (IV.4.401), to night (IV.4.401), to conscience (V.3.179); and in every case the speaker uses *Thou*. Anne, similarly, uses *Thou* because she is addressing an invocation to a *key-cold Figure* and *Ashes* (inanimate objects), and then to a *Ghost*. Later in the play, Buckingham too apostrophizes "Holy King Henry", and he also uses *Thou* (V.1.4). If a human being addresses a ghost as *Thou*, it is not surprising that the ghost reciprocates: in the great dream-scene in Act V, when the ghosts of Richard's victims come to denounce him and to encourage Richmond, every single ghost uses *Thou*, both to Richard and to Richmond (V.3. 118-76).

Anne uses the plural *You* in instructing the bearers to proceed with the bier, and Richard, who now enters, likewise uses plural *You* in ordering them to stop. When, however, one gentleman resists his order, Richard immediately uses *Thou* to him:

> Vnmanerd dog, stand *thou* when I command[8]
> (I.2.39)

This is simultaneously the *Thou* of superior to inferior and the *Thou*

of anger and contempt, as is seen from the collocation with *Vnmanerd dog* (and, three lines later, *begger*).

Anne now launches into a bitter denunciation of Richard, in which she uses the angry and hostile *Thou*, beginning:

> Auant *thou* dreadfull minister of Hell;
> *Thou* had'st but power ouer his Mortall body,
> His Soule *thou* canst not haue: Therefore be gone.
> (I.2.46-8)

Richard in reply is conciliatory, and uses the polite or neutral *You*:

> *Rich.* Lady, *you* know no Rules of Charity,
> Which renders good for bad, Blessings for Curses.
> *Anne.* Villaine, *thou* know'st nor law of God nor Man.
> (I.2.68-70)

They continue like this for 85 lines, Anne using the hostile *Thou* (34 examples), and Richard responding with the polite *You* (10 examples). In this passage there is just one example of *Thou* from Richard:

> Fairer then tongue can name *thee*, let me haue
> Some patient leysure to excuse my selfe.
> (I.2.81-2)

Presumably Richard feels that, in this praise-utterance, he can try on the intimate or affectionate *Thou*, but Anne continues her violent attack on him, and he reverts to *You*. Then at line 132, there comes the first important switch; Richard changes over to *Thou*:

> *Anne.* Blacke night ore-shade *thy* day, & death *thy* life.
> *Rich.* Curse not *thy* selfe faire Creature,
> *Thou* art both.
> (I.2.131-2)

Richard obviously feels that he has by now made enough progress with Anne to change to the intimate or affectionate *Thou*. She, however, continues to attack him with the hostile *Thou*, and for over sixty lines we have the curious situation that both characters are using *Thou* - one to express affection and the other to express hostility. The crucial moment comes when Richard bares his breast and offers to kill himself, and Anne wavers:

> *Anne.* I would I knew *thy* heart.
> *Rich.* 'Tis figur'd in my tongue.
> *Anne.* I feare me, both are false.
> *Rich.* Then neuer Man was true.
> *Anne.* Well, well, put vp *your* Sword.
> *Rich.* Say then my Peace is made.
> *Anne.* That shalt *thou* know heereafter.
> (I.2.192-8)

Anne's *thy* is ambiguous: she does not herself know what she thinks and feels at this moment. Clearly, however, she is no longer angry, and this is made explicit by her switch to the polite or neutral form in *your Sword*. This being so, her use of *thou* in the final line can only be the intimate one: she has surrendered, and in the lines that follow she permits Richard (who is still using *Thou*) to put a ring on her finger. For their final exchanges, however, they both change back to *You*, as in:

> *Rich.* For diuers vnknowne Reasons, I beseech *you*,
> Grant me this Boon.
> *Anne.* With all my heart, and much it ioyes me too,
> To see *you* are become so penitent.
> (I.2.217-20)

Things are settled, the emotional upheavals and struggles have ended, and the two characters return to the everyday unemotional *You*.

Later in the play there is a parallel episode (IV.4.199-430) in which Richard (now King) tries to persuade Queen Elizabeth to woo her daughter for him. Here too the woman being persuaded uses the hostile and angry *Thou*, whereas Richard for the most part replies with *You*, though he occasionally switches to *Thou* (lines 249-56, 325-36, 405-7). Richard's position as King makes it particularly easy for him to fluctuate between *You* and *Thou*, since nobody can take offence when he says *Thou* to them; he uses *Thou* in what seems a quite neutral way, for example, to the Duke of Norfolk (V.3.53, 301). There is one place where Richard says *Thou* to Elizabeth in a passage where otherwise he is consistently addressing her as *You*:

> The King that calles *your* beauteous Daughter Wife,
> Familiarly shall call *thy* Dorset, Brother:
> Againe shall *you* be Mother to a King
> (IV.4.315-17)

Here it is perhaps the word *Familiarly* that evokes the *thy*: Richard is momentarily imagining himself on terms of intimacy with Elizabeth and her family. In contrast to Anne, Elizabeth continues to use the hostile *Thou* to Richard almost to the end of the episode, changing to *You* only in her final line (IV.4.429); this is because Elizabeth is not really persuaded, as Anne was, but is only pretending to be, as we discover later.

There are other switches in the play between *You* and *Thou*, and in most cases their motivation is clear. A switch may occur when a character is being hypocritical, and then reveals his true feelings in an aside or a soliloquy. In the opening scene of the play Richard uses *You* to Clarence. As soon as Clarence goes off, however, Richard switches in soliloquy to a sardonic and contemptuous *Thou*:

> Go treade the path that *thou* shalt ne're return:
> Simple plaine Clarence, I do loue *thee* so,
> That I will shortly send *thy* Soule to Heauen,
> If Heauen will take the present at our hands.
> (I.1.117-20)

Buckingham, similarly, converses politely with Hastings, using *You*, but changes to *Thou* in an aside:

> *Buck.* I shall returne before *your* Lordship, thence.
> *Hast.* Nay like enough, for I stay Dinner there.
> *Buck.* And Supper too, although *thou* know'st it not.
> Come, will *you* goe?
>
> (III.2.120-23)

In some cases, the use of *Thou* is a sign of anger, or simulated anger. When Richard storms into the presence-chamber in I.3, accusing those present of maligning him, he points the finger of accusation at each in turn, using *Thou* (I.3.55-7); but in II.1, when he pretends to be reconciled to all his enemies, he again goes from person to person, but this time using *You* (II.1.63-8); it is one of those parallels-with-a-difference of which the play is full. In the council-scene in the Tower (III.4), Richard comes in all smiles and affability, and uses *You* (to Ely and then to Buckingham); but at his second entry, when he pretends to be a victim of witchcraft, Hastings walks straight into his trap, and Richard rounds on him in simulated fury:

> *Hast.* If they haue done this deed, my Noble Lord.
> *Rich.* If? *thou* Protector of this damned Strumpet,
> Talk'st *thou* to me of Ifs: *thou* art a Traytor,
> Off with his Head
>
> (III.4.73-6)

In some cases the use of *You* is mock-polite or ironical, and may then be followed by a switch to a more normal *Thou*. In I.1, Brakenbury asks Richard and Clarence not to have any secret conversation, since the King has forbidden it. Richard replies with exaggerated politeness, which is followed by a complete change of tone:

> *Rich.* Euen so, and please *your* Worship Brakenbury,
> *You* may partake of any thing we say:
> We speake no Treason man; We say the King
> Is wise and vertuous, and his Noble Queene
> Well strooke in yeares, faire, and not iealious
> We say, that Shores Wife hath a pretty Foot,
> A cherry Lip, a bonny Eye, a passing pleasing tongue:
> And that the Queenes Kindred are made gentle Folkes.
> How say *you* sir? can *you* deny all this?
> *Brak.* With this (my Lord) my selfe haue nought to doo.
> *Rich.* Naught to do with Mistress Shore?
> I tell *thee* Fellow, he that doth naught with her
> (Excepting one) were best to do it secretly alone.
> *Brak.* What one, my Lord.
> *Rich.* Her Husband Knaue, would'st *thou* betray me?
>
> (I.1.88-102)

Richard's *You* collocates with the mock-polite vocatives *Worship* and *sir*. Then Brakenbury gives him the opening for his wicked pun on

naught ("nothing" and "wickedness, immoral act"), and Richard switches to *Thou*, which collocates with the patronizing vocatives *Fellow* and *Knaue*: the King's brother is putting this whippersnapper knight firmly in his place. A similar example is provided by Queen Margaret. In the singular, Margaret almost invariably uses *Thou*, whoever she may be speaking to. This is partly to assert the fact that she is the true Queen, and all her hearers are her subjects (as she claims at I.3.160-1, 170, 250-2), and partly because many of her speeches are curses or denunciations addressed to her enemies. In only one speech in the whole play does Margaret use singular *You*:

> *Dorset.* Dispute not with her, shee is lunaticke.
> *Q. Mar.* Peace Master Marquesse, *you* are malapert,
> *Your* fire-new stampe of Honor is scarce currant.
> O that *your* yong Nobility could iudge
> What 'twere to lose it, and be miserable.
> (I.3.253-7)

Dorset is not only a parvenu, but is also rather young (he was Queen Elizabeth's eldest son by her first marriage): Margaret's *yong Nobility* refers to his youth as well as to the newness of his title. Hence the mock-polite vocative *Master Marquesse*. Margaret, too, is putting presumption in its place, by means of cutting politeness.

Some switches between *You* and *Thou*, however, seem to have no great significance. This is especially likely to be so when the addressee is of lower rank than the speaker, for then either *You* or *Thou* can be used without giving offence. It is true that, if the social gulf is very great, the speaker of higher rank will tend to say *Thou* (as Clarence does to each of the Murderers); so a menial will often be addressed as *Thou*. For example, *Thou* is used by speakers of royal or noble status to a messenger (II.4.41, III.2. 19-33, IV.4.508), to a pursuivant (III.2.96-104), to a priest (IV. 5.1-20); and if the menial uses a pronoun in reply, it is invariably *You*. But even with a large social gap, the speaker of higher rank may fluctuate: Hastings uses *Thou* and *You* in successive lines to a priest (III.2.109-10). And if the gap is smaller, as for example between a nobleman and a knight, the speaker of higher rank is quite likely to fluctuate (though the lower will not). Some of these fluctuations may be significant (as in the example between Richard and Brakenbury in I.1), but some appear not to be. Brakenbury is addressed as *You* by Queen Elizabeth (IV.1.13), and a few lines later as *Thou* by Anne (IV.1.24-25), with no very obvious change in tone or attitude. And Catesby, who is also a knight, is addressed by noblemen (Richard, Buckingham, Hastings) sometimes as *You*, sometimes as *Thou*. On the other hand, it is possible that these fluctuations carried nuances of meaning for the original audience, which we now find it difficult to detect. Elizabeth's polite *You* to Brakenbury is spoken before the ladies have been denied access to the young princes, whereas Anne's *Thou* is spoken after this denial, and may be an attempt to pull rank to get her own way. And when Hastings switches from *You* to *Thou* with Catesby (III.2.36-41), he may do so in order to suggest displeasure at the suggestion that Richard ought to be King.

Many of the usages, as can be expected, are routine and call for little comment. The King, as the highest-ranking person in the realm, often uses *Thou*: Edward IV says *You* to his wife and close relatives, but *Thou* to other people, including great noblemen such as Buckingham and Derby (Stanley). Richard, after he has become King, always uses *Thou* to anybody below the peerage (including knights like Tyrrel and Ratcliffe); but he makes extensive use of *You* to Queen Elizabeth, he invariably says *You* to his mother, and with Derby (Stanley) he fluctuates between *You* and *Thou* (e.g. IV.4. 475-7). In the early part of the play, Queen Elizabeth (in strong contrast to Queen Margaret) nearly always uses *You*, even when uttering reproaches: it is part of her mild and conciliatory style. But after the death of the young princes, she most often uses *Thou*, especially in denunciations. A child addresses an adult as *You* (as in II.2.3-31), while an adult addresses a child as *Thou* (as in II. 4.16-33). But Prince Edward, as the sovereign, is addressed as *You* despite his youth (III.1.1-30), and young York receives a *You* from his mother (and an angry one at that) (II.4.35) and is regularly addressed as *You* by Richard (III.1.109-22); in these cases high rank obviously outweighs youthfulness. The Duchess of York invariably addresses Richard (her son) as *Thou*, even after he has become King, and he equally invariably answers with *You*, even when she is denouncing and provoking him (IV.4.136-96). It is interesting that the three London citizens (II.3) use only *You* to one another; this is a sign of the extent to which, by Shakespeare's time, the use of *You* to a social equal had spread down the social scale.

One slightly ambiguous case is that of Stanley and Richmond. Stanley is Richmond's step-father, and so might well expect to be addressed with the respectful *You*. But Richmond is already talking as if he were King (he uses the royal plural at V.2.5 and V.3.81), and might equally well expect to be addressed as *You*. In fact, when they have their secret meeting, both use *Thou*:

> *Stan.* Fortune, and Victory sit on *thy* Helme.
> *Rich.* All comfort that the darke night can affoord,
> Be to *thy* Person, Noble Father in Law.
> Tell me, how fares our Noble Mother?
> *Stan.* I by Attourney, blesse *thee* from *thy* Mother,
> Who prayes continually for Richmonds good
> (V.3.79-84)

This may be the intimate and affectionate use of *Thou*; and certainly Stanley, a few lines later, refers to the two of them as *long sundred Friends*, and regrets that they have no time for the appropriate *rites of Loue* (V.3.100-101). On the other hand, there is a possibility that Shakespeare, tongue in cheek, is showing them as trying (however affectionately) to upstage one another, each standing on his status and using the *Thou* of social superiority. And certainly Richmond's rather pompous *how fares our Noble Mother?* fits better with the social than with the affectionate *Thou*. In the final scene of the play, when Stanley puts the crown on Richmond's head, he still addresses him as *Thou* (V.5.3-7); but in his next speech he switches to *You* (V.5.10-11), as if conscious that he is now addressing his sovereign.

In this last example, Stanley addresses Richmond as *Couragious Richmond* (V.5.3), which collocates with *Thou*, and then as *my lord* (V.5.10), which collocates with *You*. And throughout the play there is a clear correlation between the vocative expression used and the choice of pronoun. The play contains a large number of abusive vocatives - beggar, cacodemon, coward, dissembler, devil, dog, fool, hag, hedgehog, homicide, knave, slave, villain, witch - and these always collocate with *Thou*, never with *You*. On the other hand, respectful vocatives, especially ones containing the word *lord*, usually collocate with *You*. The following table shows the number of times in the play a vocative containing the word *lord* collocates closely with singular *You* on the one hand and with *Thou* on the other. In the vast majority of cases counted as collocations, the pronoun and the vocative expression occur in the same sentence, frequently in the same line; in the remainder, they occur in different sentences, but are very closely linked, and are spoken, as it were, in the same breath. The expression *my lord* is extremely common, and the figures for it are shown separately. The remaining expressions include such types as *lord*, *noble lord*, *my gracious lord*, *good my lord*, *Lord Hastings*, *my Lord Mayor*, *my Lord of Gloucester*, *my good Lord Chamberlain*, and *good my Lord of Derby*.

Collocating with:	*You*	*Thou*
my lord	42	0
Other vocatives with *lord*	27	1

Out of a total of seventy examples, all but one collocate with *You*. The sole exception occurs at I.3.210, where *Lord Hastings* collocates with *Thou*. The speaker is Queen Margaret, and, as we have seen, her normal mode of address is *Thou* to anybody, regardless of rank. Elsewhere, the vocative *Lord Hastings* occurs in collocation with *You* (III.1.58, III.4.13). In general, it seems that the use of *lord* in a vocative expression almost automatically entails the choice of *You* to collocate with it. Even the Lord Mayor of London, who obviously has to be called *Lord Mayor* or *my lord*, is addressed by Richard and Buckingham as *You*, despite his citizen background.

No other vocative expression is comparable in frequency to *my lord*. The figures for some of the commoner ones are given in the table below.

Collocating with:	*You*	*Thou*
madam	17	0
sir	4	0
brother	5	0
cousin	5	4
lady	3	3
fellow	0	4

It will be seen from the table that, in *Richard III*, the vocatives *madam*, *sir*, and *brother* collocate only with *You*, while *fellow* collocates only with *Thou*. In between are *cousin* and *lady*, which collocate with both. In most cases, however, the figures are too small to be considered reliable; those for *madam*, indeed, are reasonably substantial, but the remainder, while suggestive, do not permit any firm conclusions to be drawn. What we need, plainly, is statistical information on such collocations from a larger body of Shakespeare's plays.

We also need more evidence to supplement that of Mulholland on possible grammatical conditioning of the choice of *You* and *Thou*.[9] Her material from *Much Ado* and *King Lear* does not on the whole suppor the view that the grammatical construction used has any considerable influence on the selection of *You* or *Thou*. There is one exception: her figures do suggest (though not at a statistically significant level) that, both in statements and in questions, a speaker is more likely to select *thou* as the subject of a closed-class verb, and *you* as the subject of a lexical verb.[10] The evidence of *Richard III* supports this. Using the same categories as Mulholland, I find that the relevant statistics for the play are as follows:

Statements

	you	*thou*
Subject before closed verb	63 (46.3%)	73 (53.7%)
Subject before lexical verb	46 (56.8%)	35 (43.2%)

Questions

	you	*thou*
Subject after closed verb	15 (32.6%)	31 (67.4%)
Subject after lexical verb	19 (54.3%)	16 (45.7%)

In both statements and questions, it will be seen, *you* is more favoured with lexical verbs, and *thou* with closed verbs. The differences, however, are not statistically significant, being below the 90% confidence limit for statements, and below the 95% confidence limit for questions. If the figures for *Richard III* are added to Mulholland's figures for *King Lear* and *Much Ado*, the differences approach the significant level, being between 95% and 97.5% for both statements and questions.[11]

A study of a larger body of material might indeed confirm, therefore, that in Shakespeare's plays a speaker is likely to show a greater preference for *you* as the subject of lexical verbs, and of *thou* as the subject of closed-class verbs. Such a correlation, however, would not prove that the grammatical construction determined the choice of pronoun. It might be the other way round: *you* or *thou* might be chosen on social or emotional grounds, and this choice might then influence the grammatical construction used. For example, when the speaker selected *thou* as subject, he might be more likely to insert auxiliary *do* in the verb phrase, and when he selected *you* he might be more likely to omit it. This is rather suggested by the examples in *Richard III*: in statements with the subject before a closed-class verb, there are fourteen cases where this verb is auxiliary *do*; thirteen of these occur after *thou*, and only one after *you*. With questions the figures are less extreme, but there is still a difference: auxiliary *do* occurs four times before *you*, but ten times before *thou*. But here again more material is needed.

It is perhaps worth adding one small additional point which emerges from an examination of the grammatical structures in *Richard III*. The statistics given above do not include sentences like *Well are you welcome to this open Ayre* (I.1.124), or *by dispairing shalt thou stand excused* (I.2.86), since these are statements in which the pronoun-subject *follows* the verb. In these examples of "inversion" in the play, neither *you* nor *thou* is dominant as subject (there are ten examples of each); but what is striking is that all twenty examples have a closed-class verb. With *you* or *thou* as subject, there are no examples like *O then, began the Tempest to my Soule* (I.4.44), in which the subject of a declarative sentence is placed after a lexical verb.

Richard III does not give unambiguous support to Mulholland's finding, from *King Lear* and *Much Ado*, that "*you* is the generally accepted majority form of the pronoun in use in the upper classes, except from father to daughter, and, possibly, from women to their female servants".[12] In *Richard III*, in which the vast majority of exchanges occur between characters of noble or royal rank, and in which very few lines indeed are spoken by characters below the rank of knight,[13] examples of *Thou* in fact outnumber examples of singular *You* in the ratio of about 54 to 46. There are 568 examples of *Thou*;

there are 689 examples of *You*, but 198 of these are certainly or probably plural, leaving a probable figure of 491 for singular *You*.[14] This may not indeed be a typical situation, for in Shakespeare's works as a whole there are 14,410 examples of *Thou*, but 22,767 examples of *You*;[15] on the other hand, quite a few of these 22,767 examples must be of plural *You*, and even if the proportion is lower than in *Richard III* (where about 29% of the examples of *You* are certainly or probably plural) it seems likely that there is no enormous difference in frequency between *Thou* and singular *You*. It can by no means be said, therefore, that in Shakespeare's works as a whole the usual form is *You*, and *Thou* merely an occasional variant used on special occasions.

It is true that, in *Richard III*, there is a great deal which is consistent with the view that *You* is the normal, unmarked form among the upper classes, and that *Thou* is the marked form, used for particular emotional effects or as an indicator of difference of social status. But there is also evidence which goes against this view: the Duchess of York never uses singular *You*, only *Thou*; and Queen Margaret uses singular *You* in only one speech. Moreover, Margaret's use of *Thou* is not always hostile and denunciatory; she uses it to Buckingham when she is explicitly exempting him from her attacks (I.3.279-83). The monarch, too, tends to favour *Thou*: Edward IV uses *You* to close relatives, but *Thou* to anybody else; and Richard, after he has become King, prefers *Thou* for most of the people he addresses. It is possible, therefore, that for aged and reverend characters like the Duchess of York, and for some people of especially high status, *Thou* was the normal, unmarked form, and *You* the form chosen to indicate particular courtesy or benignity. We need not assume that usage was identical for all members of the gentle class, from the simple gentleman up to the monarch. Equally, we do not have to assume that usage in Shakespeare's plays exactly reflects the usages of the society around them. It would be perfectly possible for *Thou* to play a relatively small role in real life, while in drama, because of its concentration of emotional tension and its tendency to present scenes of confrontation, *Thou* appeared much more frequently. Even when we are more certain, therefore, about the significance of usages in Shakespeare's plays, we shall need to use caution in drawing conclusions about usage in Shakespeare's society.

NOTES

1 J. Mulholland, "'Thou' and 'You' in Shakespeare: a study in the second person pronoun", *English Studies*, 48 (1967), 34-43.

2 Elizabethan theoreticians normally recognized four main status-groups: (a) Gentlemen, (b) Citizens, (c) Yeomen, and (d) Artisans and Labourers. See for example Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (London, 1583), pp.20-34.

3 Unless otherwise indicated, quotations are from the First Folio of 1623; I have used the Kökeritz and Prouty facsimile (Oxford, 1955). Speech-prefixes, when given, are normalized. Original italics are removed; italics in quotations are my own, to call attention to particular forms. Line-references, however, are not taken from F1, but from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, edited by G. Blakemore Evans (Boston, 1974), since this is the edition used by the Spevack Shakespeare concordance. For quotations from the First Quarto of 1597 I have used the facsimile in the Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles series, edited by W.W. Greg (Oxford, 1959). Information about the readings of the later quartos is taken from the parallel-texts edition of *Richard III* by Kristian Smidt (Oslo and New York, 1969).

4 In addition to regional accents, there were probably class-accents in Shakespeare's time; see for example C. Barber, *Early Modern English* (London, 1976), pp.37-40. The contrary view is taken by B. Holmberg, *On the Concept of Standard English and the History of Modern English Pronunciation* (Lund, 1964), pp.11-19; Holmberg's material, however, contains much which contradicts his view, such as references by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors to "vulgar" pronunciations, which he tries to explain away. On legislation regulating the clothes to be worn by different social groups, see F.E. Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, 1926). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, such legislation was increasingly flouted, and it has indeed been suggested that one of the reasons for the spread of singular *You* was precisely the breakdown of class-distinctions in dress, which made it difficult to "place" a stranger socially: see T. Finkenstaedt, *You und Thou. Studien zur Anrede in englischen* (Berlin, 1963), pp.91-98. The Murderers of Clarence, however, hardly come from the social groups (wealthy citizens, sons of prosperous yeomen) who were likely to ape upper-class clothes and manners.

5 The fact that Clarence regularly uses *Thou* when addressing one Murderer makes implausible an emendation proposed by Tyrwhitt in 1766 and adopted by many subsequent editors, including the editor of *The Riverside Shakespeare*. The lines which in the Riverside edition appear as I.4.266-7 appear in F1 as I.4.261-2, at the end of Clarence's previous speech; the lines do not occur at all in the quartos. The effect of the emendation, however, is to make Clarence switch from *Thou* to *You* in successive lines, when addressing one Murderer, and this is hardly possible in view of his other usages in the scene.

6 Sister St Geraldine Byrne, *Shakespeare's Use of the Pronoun of Address; its Significance in Characterization and Motivation* (Washington D.C., 1936), p.28.

7 This refers to F1. In Q1, the examples of *my lord* are equally divided between the two Murderers. The F1 readings provide better characterization: it is the more respectful of the two Murderers who finally relents. Q1 also differs from F1 in that the Murderers continue to use *Thou* to Clarence in lines 242-7; this can hardly be read as an expression of anger, but might be a mark of patronizing contempt.

8 This is the reading of Q1. The reading of F1 is *Stand'st thou*, which is clearly wrong.

9 Mulholland, *op.cit.*, 36-40.

10 In her category of closed-class (or grammatical) verbs, Mulholland includes the modal auxiliaries, the primary auxiliaries (*be*, *have*, and *do*), and also *be* and *have* in their non-auxiliary uses. All other verbs are lexical (or open-class).

11 These statistical significances have been calculated by the chi-squared method. For *Richard III*, chi-squared is 2.21 for the statements table, and 3.81 for the questions table. For all three plays combined, chi-squared is 4.57 for the statements table, and 4.40 for the questions table. In each case there is one degree of freedom. For statistical method I have consulted G. Udny Yule and M.G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (14th edition, London, 1973).

12 Mulholland, *op.cit.*, 42.

13 In *Richard III*, if ghosts are disregarded, 24,509 words are spoken by characters of royal, noble, or episcopal status; 1236 words are spoken by knights; and 2108 words are spoken by other characters. (The Lord Mayor of London is included in this last category.) The figures are derived from Marvin Spevack, *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare* (8 volumes, Hildesheim, 1968-75), Vol. II, pp.997-1079.

14 As with the other statistics given, the text of the Riverside edition has been used for the count; for *Richard III*, the Riverside editor uses F1 as his copy-text, but incorporates some readings from Q1. The breakdown for the figures given for *You* and *Thou* is as follows: *thou* 207, *thee* 121; *thine* 15; *thy* 213; *thyself* 12; total *Thou* 568. Singular *You*: *you* 260; *ye* 2; *you'll* 1; *your* 209; *yours* 12; *yourself* 6; *yourself's* 1; total singular *You* 491. Plural *You*: *you* 128; *your* 64; *yours* 3; *yourselves* 3; total plural *You* 198. The forms are as listed in the Spevack concordance.

15 The figures are compiled from Vol. VI of the Spevack concordance. The breakdown is as follows: *thou* 5855; *ta* "thou" 1; *th'* "thou" 33; *thee* 3423; *th'* "thee" 1; *thine* 498; *thy* 4360; *thyself* 239; total *Thou* 14,410; *you* 14,432; *y'* "you" 63; *ye* 346; *you'll* 166; *you'ld* 15; *you'd* 4; *you're* 28; *you'st* 1; *your* 7065; *yours* 269; *yourself* 300; *yourself's* 2; *yourselves* 76; total *You* 22,767.

WEAK SYLLABLES IN DIALECTAL USAGE

By STANLEY ELLIS

The concentration upon the speech of a largely rural population in the English Dialect Survey basic material (*Survey of English Dialects* (B) ed. H. Orton et al, E.J. Arnold 1962-71) has often been criticised by commentators. A recent example is the remark of Dr K.M. Petyt in *The Study of Dialect* (Deutsch, 1980) "it records the speech of only a small and unrepresentative sample of the population of England". Dr J.C. Wells in an article 'Local Accents in England and Wales' (in *Journal of Linguistics* Vol. 6, No. 2, September 1970) also comments that "dialectologists in England have concentrated on the speech of small and relatively isolated rural communities". Wells goes on "the vast mass of urban working-class and lower-middle-class speakers use a pronunciation nearer to RP, and lexical and grammatical forms much nearer to Standard English, than the archaic rural dialects recorded by dialectologists". In this "preliminary and tentative sketch" of the phonetic variables among mainly urban forms of English Dr Wells uses various evidence, some from *SED*, to define principal regional groups of dialects. One of his comments is (§6.5) that in RP /ə/ is gradually replacing /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables, both prefixes and suffixes.

The *SED* material relevant to dialectal usage of /ə/ and /ɪ/ and compared to varieties of RP would show however a greater relationship than suggested between the pronunciation of RP speakers and the dialect of the areas where they learned to talk. Observation of speakers who might be classified as more of the "upper-middle classes" mentioned in §8.2 of Dr Wells article, perhaps still retaining something of the "educated regional" speech of Professor A.C. Gimson (*An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, London, 1962), but who certainly by education and profession have long moved away from, or never even had an urban dialect, let alone a rural one, shows that in respect of the unstressed syllables they may give away far more precise indication of their regional origins than they themselves would believe possible.

Using the information from a number of questions in the *SED* it is possible to arrive at three distinct groupings of areas where /ə/ is found as an alternative to /ɪ/. The published mapped material from the *SED* in the *Linguistic Atlas of English* (ed. H. Orton, S.F. Sanderson, J.D.A. Widdowson, Croom Helm, 1978) shows weak syllables as suffixes of *laces* and *bushes*, the unstressed final syllable in *pocket*, the unstressed *-ing* suffix in *cursing*, *doing laughing* and *writing*, and unstressed final *-ing* in *shilling*, *farthing*, *herring*. Material for *farthing* has been ignored because

in many areas the retention of the *-d-* form is followed by loss of the vowel and a syllabic *n*.

Further information was sought by using the index of the *SED* and considering nine more words: *horses* (I.6.5), *houses* (V.1.1), *boiling* (V.8.6), *right-* and *left-handed* (VI.7.13), *-footed* (VI.10.5), *lightning* (VII.6.22), *gossiping* (VIII.3.5), and *working* (VIII.4.8). *Bushes* and *laces* are already mapped in *LEA* (Ph 196 and Ph 197). *Hinges* at first seemed suitable but was discarded after showing lexical variation, later the compounds with *footed*, *gossiping* and *left-handed* proved to be confused because of lexical alternatives. Even *houses* proved too confused with its weak plural *housen* to be of any use in the Midlands and East Anglia, though it contributed to the information for Northern and Southern England.

One of the most widely observed occurrences of a contrast is in the verbal *-ed* suffix represented by *started to rain*. Again the lexical variety (usually *began*) made it impossible to take a verbal ending of this type from *SED* material, *right-handed* remains the only usable example from *SED* of an *-ed* suffix of any kind.

All the notions used from *SED* yielded three distinctive areas with the following groupings, A: *boiling*, *cursing*, *doing*, *laughing*, *working*, *writing*; B: *herring*, *lightning*, *morning*, *shilling*; C: *bushes*, *horses*, *houses*, *laces*, *right-handed*. Group A, all verbal *-ing* suffixes, produces a map with a distinctive Northern /ə/ area covering mostly the four northernmost English counties (pre 1974) of Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham, with a second definite area covering Suffolk and north Essex; a third area is basically the south coast of Hampshire and then on the coast westward to Cornwall. Very rare outliers occur on the coast of the Wash, and the situation in North Cornwall is somewhat fluid. However the three main areas are generally in agreement in all six words (see Map 1). *Pocket* is most similar to this group in the Northern part of England but introduces a new element of /ə/ quality in the central South Midlands (see Map 2).

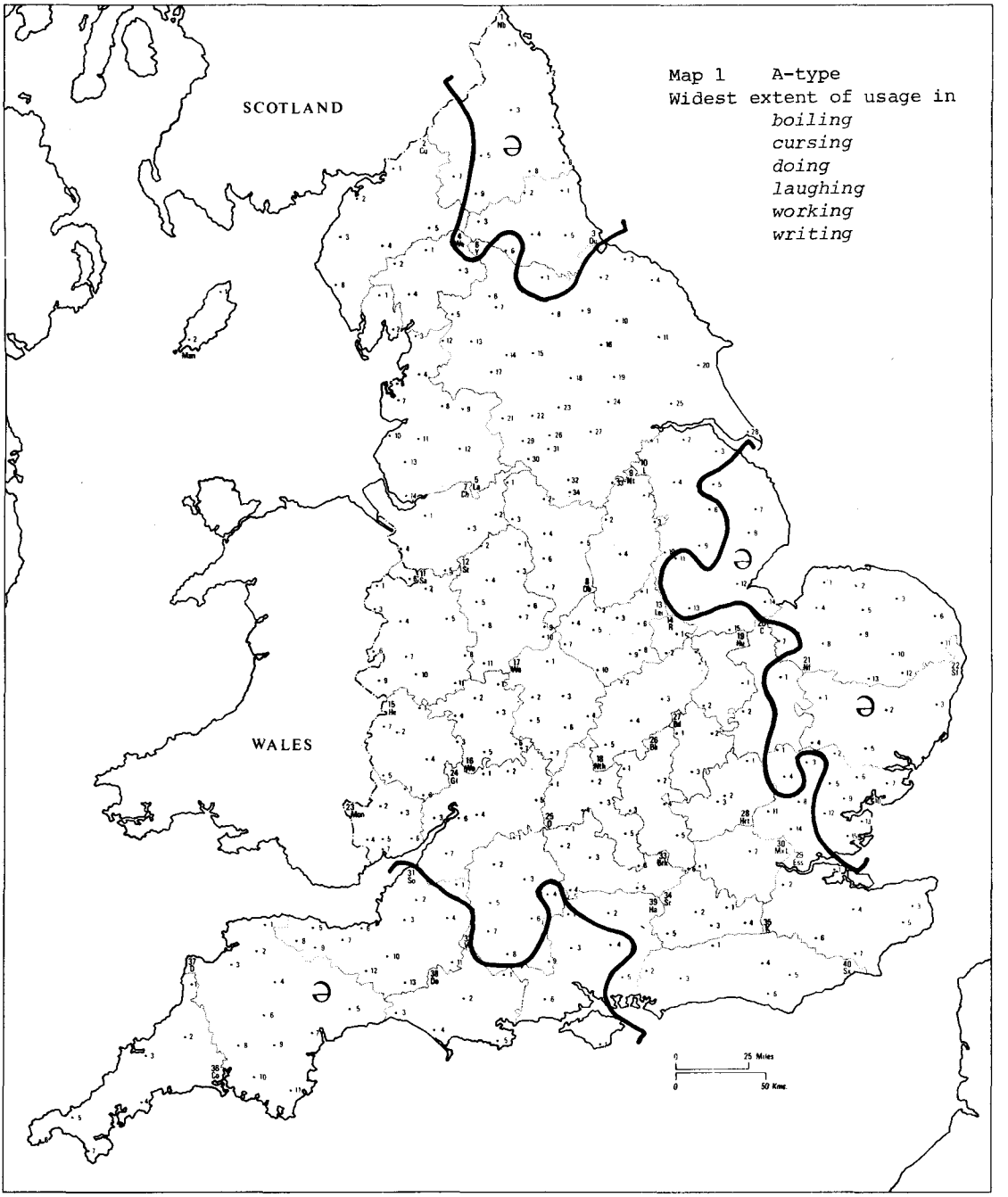
The B group is generally less widespread, largely restricted to the Eastern part of the North. The area it covers is less in both East Anglia and the South and West (see Map 3).

With the C group there is in the north an area of /ə/ firmly restricted to Tyneside and we see a completely new area for this /ə/ in the south of Yorkshire, north Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Suffolk and North Essex again are an area with a firm /ə/ pronunciation. Hampshire and Dorset are again firm /ə/ areas but the picture further west and in the West Midlands is rather obscure (see Map 4). *Houses*, too, gives the same clear pattern in Tyneside and Yorkshire (see Map 5).

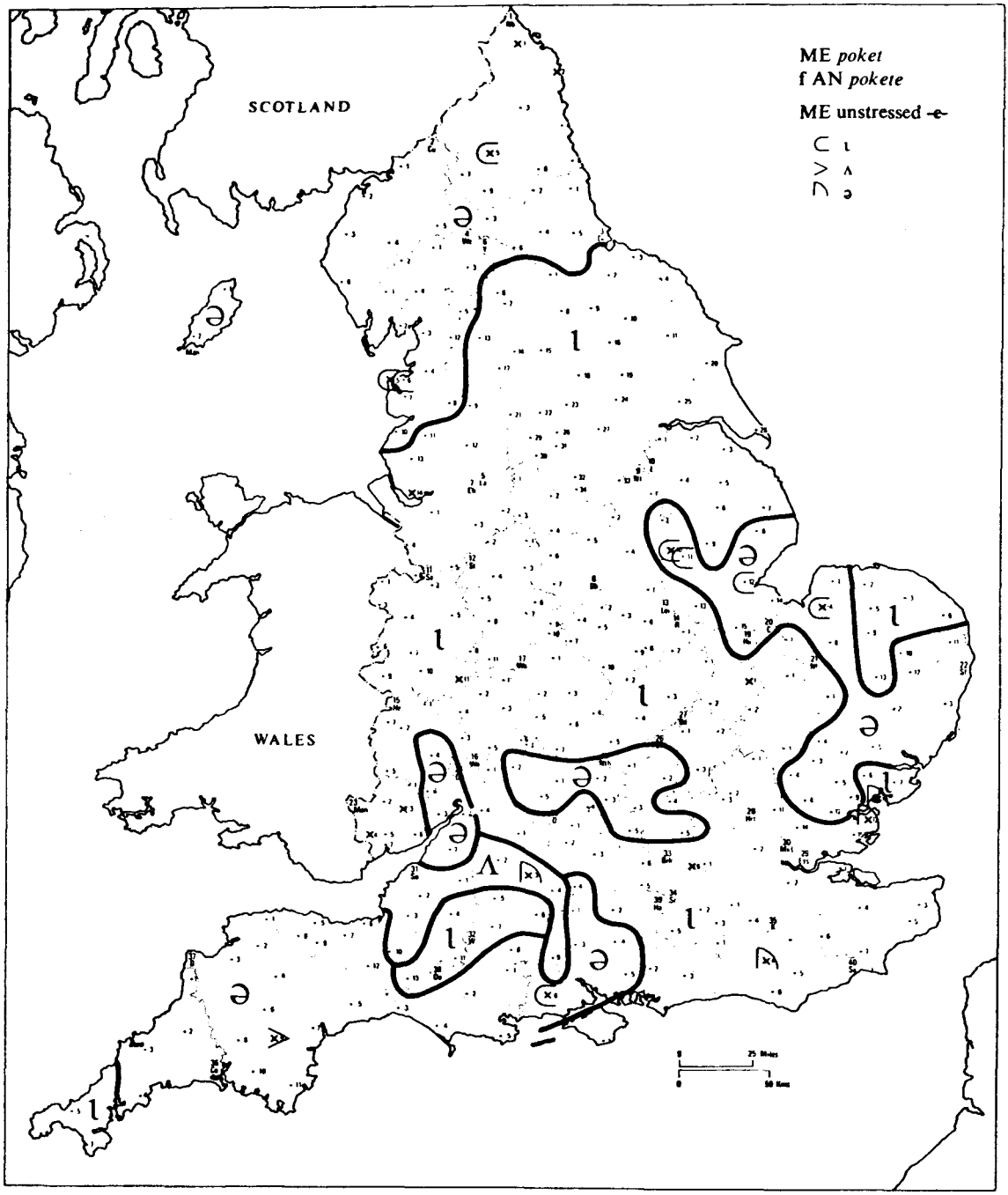
For all the confusion of the B type in the south-west of England the pattern that emerges of the groups is one that gives impressive results in identifying the regional provenance of urban speakers from the geographical areas having the /ə/ types, and conversely aiding an identification for speakers with overall characteristics of the same type but from nearby /ɹ/ areas.

Perhaps the main point of interest that emerges is that the North Midland of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and South Yorkshire has the /ə/ form only in group C words. Unfortunately very little evidence of the past tense *-ed* can be found in *SED* to give an overall picture. However it is observable that an area to the south of Leeds (6Y23) not only produces an /ə/ type in the plurals like *horses* and also in *chicken* but also past tense pronunciations like *started* with /əd/. This area includes Morley, some four miles south of Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield and Sheffield, Buxton in Derbyshire and Mansfield in Nottinghamshire and the pronunciations can be heard from native speakers from the area at all social levels.

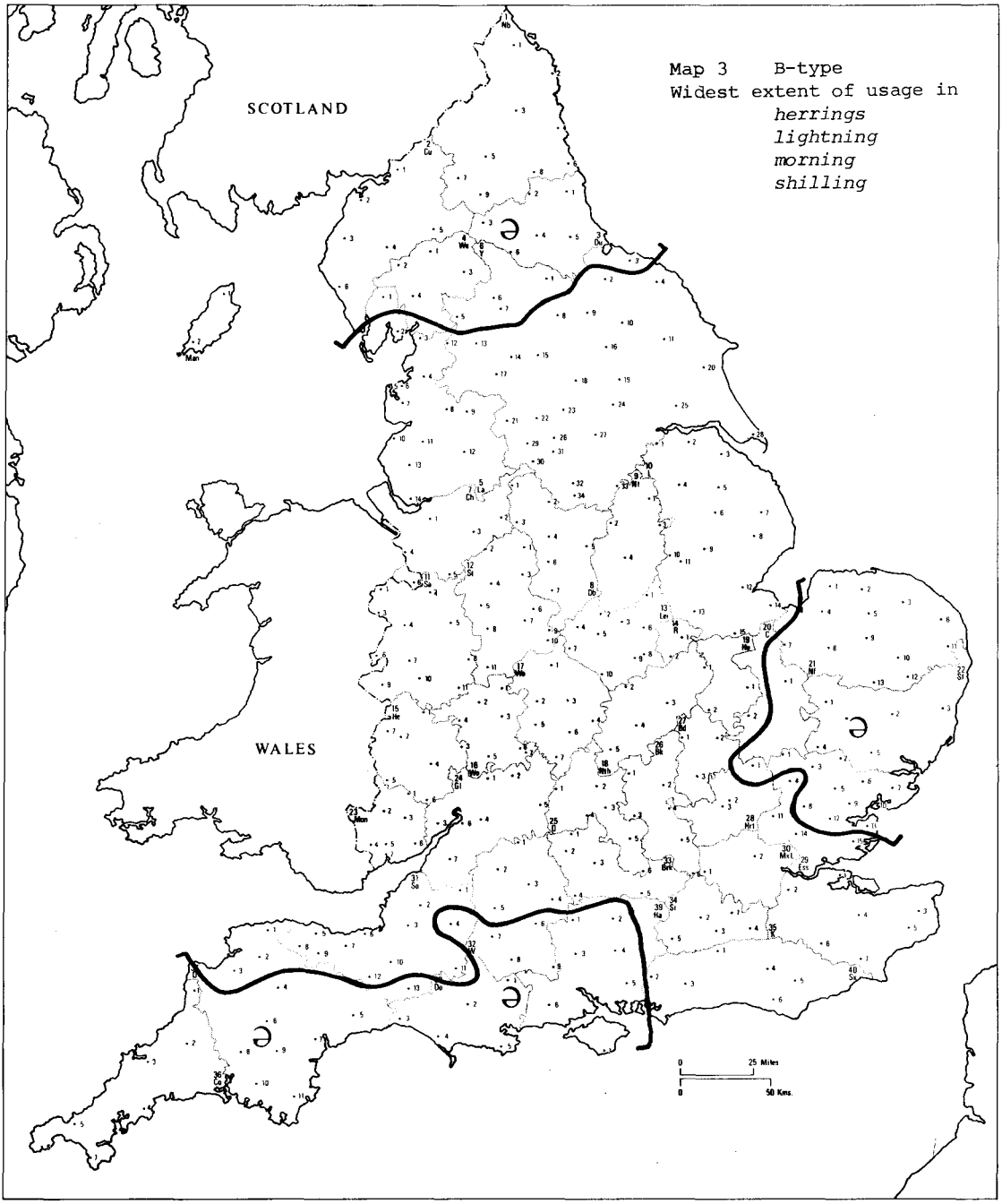
In the context of this Festschrift number of *LSE*, it may interest readers to learn that Emeritus Professor Cawley is an /ɹ/ type from the South East of England, his wife an /ə/ type from Tyneside.

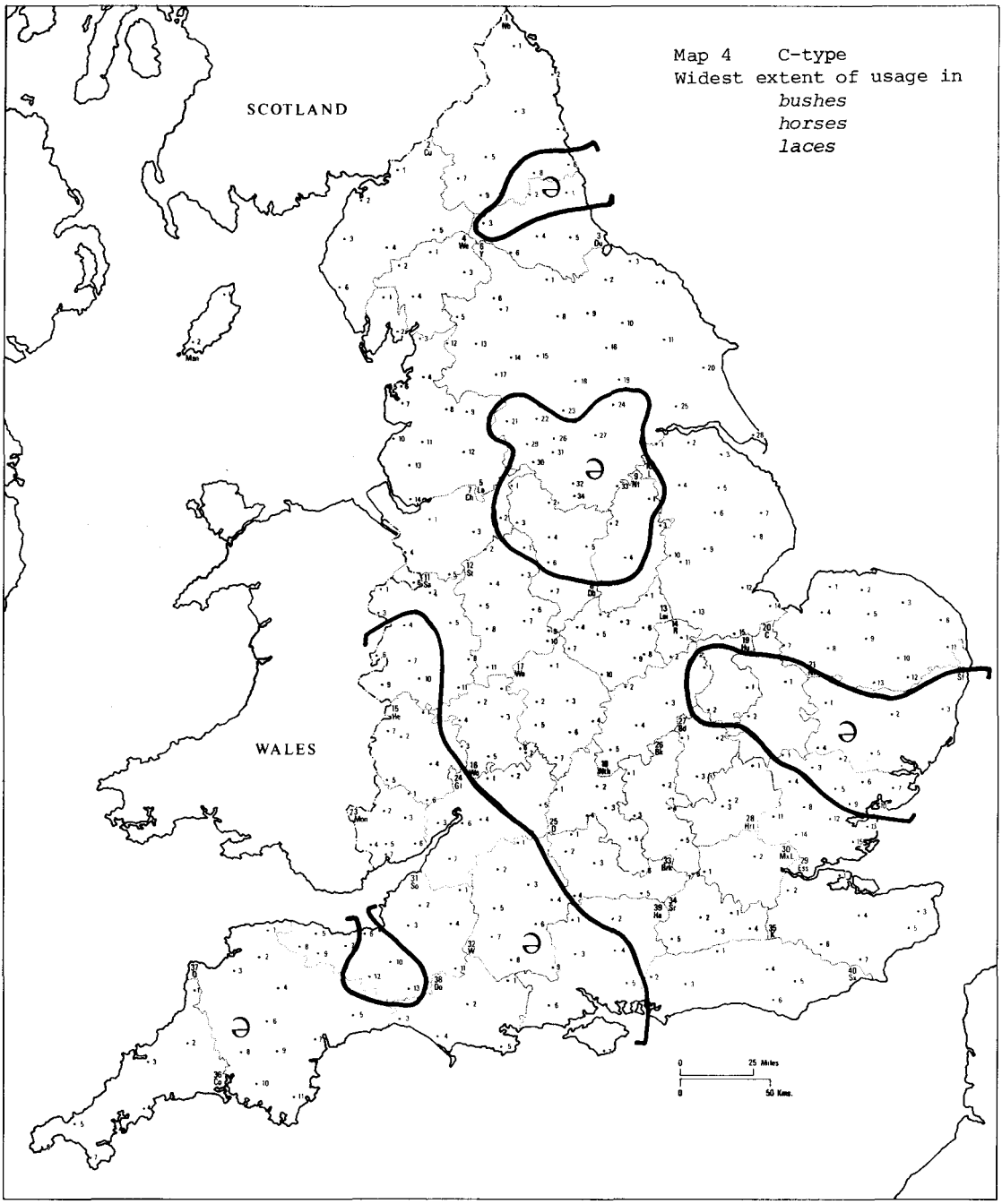


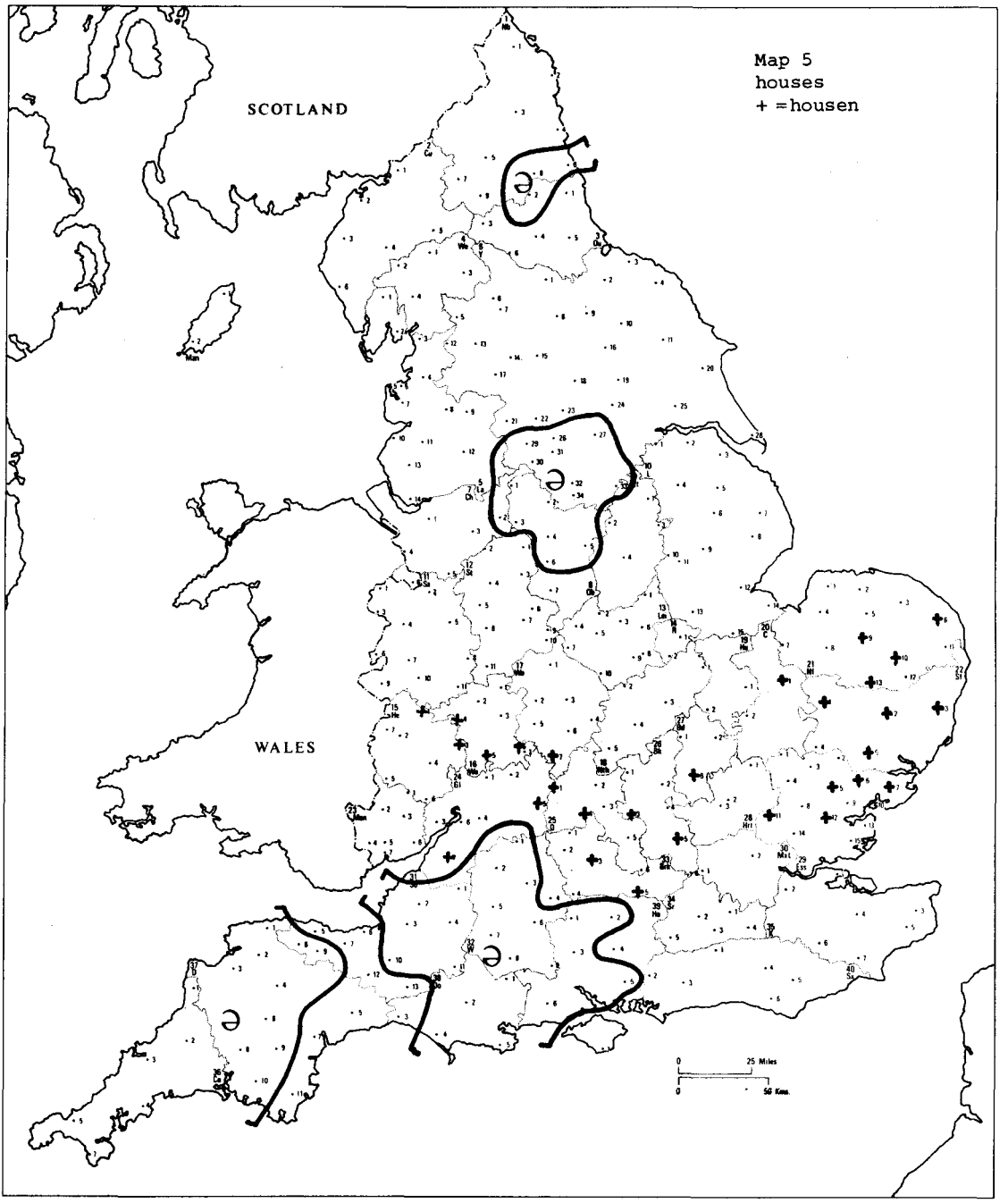
Map 1 A-type
Widest extent of usage in
boiling
cursing
doing
laughing
working
writing



Map 2
Reproduced from the *Linguistic Atlas of England*


Map 3 B-type
Widest extent of usage in
herrings
lightning
morning
shilling
SCOTLAND
WALES
0 25 Miles
0 50 Kms.


Map 4 C-type
Widest extent of usage in
bushes
horses
laces
SCOTLAND
WALES
0 25 Miles
0 50 Kms.


Map 5
houses
+ =housen
SCOTLAND
WALES
0 25 Miles
0 50 Km.

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